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Imagine Community, Imagine Home (Chicopee, MA)

Christian Appia

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Francesca Cigliano

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Jenna Davis

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Greg LaBombard

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Kristen Whitmore

University of Massachusetts Amherst

See next page for additional authors

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Authors

Christian Appia, Francesca Cigliano, Jenna Davis, Greg LaBombard, Kristen Whitmore, and Simeng Zhang



Imagine Community, Imagine Home

Re-envisioning Housing and Economic Development in
Chicopee's West End Neighborhood



*Christian Appia, Francesca Cigliano, Jenna Davis,
Greg LaBombard, Kristen Whitmore, Simeng Zhang*

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List of Acronyms

CCP: Collaborative Community Planning

GIS: Geographic Information Systems

I-391: Interstate 391

I-91: Interstate 91

LARP: Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning

Department at the University of Massachusetts Amherst

PVPC: Pioneer Valley Planning Commission

PVTA: Pioneer Valley Transit Authority

The Client: city of Chicopee Department of Planning & Development

TYPA: Tax Yield per Acre

economic development recommendations. Finally, **Chapter 12** includes the conclusion.

How to Read This Report

This report is divided into twelve chapters. **Chapter 1** provides an overview of the project, the Client directives, and CCP's team objectives. **Chapter 2** provides a background on the historical context, geography, and neighborhood character of Chicopee and the West End neighborhood. **Chapter 3** reports on short- and long-term demographic trends in the city of Chicopee and the West End neighborhood. **Chapter 4** provides a background on national housing trends and policy and their regional impact. **Chapter 5** provides a literature review. **Chapter 6** offers an overview of precedent studies and previous public engagement efforts in the study area. **Chapter 7** explains CCP's public engagement strategy. **Chapter 8** shares the findings from CCP's public engagement campaign. **Chapter 9** provides background on how to finance development in the study area using a pro forma model. **Chapter 10** includes a traffic analysis of the study area. **Chapter 11** includes neighborhood-wide housing and

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Executive Summary

Purpose

In fall 2018, the city of Chicopee partnered with Collaborative Community Planning (CCP), a group of master's students in the Regional Planning program at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, to develop a vision plan for future housing and economic development in the West End neighborhood of Chicopee, Massachusetts. The Client directive stated that in order to do so, CCP must understand current housing needs in the West End neighborhood and analyze broader market demands in the region.

The Client asked CCP to create a public engagement process that gathered perspectives from community stakeholders around future housing and economic development in the West End neighborhood using multiple methods for outreach and engagement. The Client outlined the following public engagement goals:

1. Develop an outreach and engagement process that solicits community opinions regarding the plan
2. Analyze data collected from the outreach and engagement process to best inform the neighborhood visioning process, and the final plan

Based on these Client goals, CCP developed a public engagement campaign centered around capturing visions for future housing and economic development in the West

End neighborhood. CCP leveraged three public engagement tools including a visual preference survey administered at an in-person event in the West End, an online visual preference survey, and one-on-one interviews with local business owners, organizations, and city officials to capture these visions.

Overview of Study Area

The West End neighborhood is a 190-acre neighborhood located in the southwestern corner of Chicopee, Massachusetts. The geographic boundaries of the neighborhood are defined by the Connecticut River to the west, the Chicopee River to the north, and Center Street to the south/southeast. Interstate 391 runs through the center of the West End neighborhood, separating residential and commercial buildings in Chicopee Center's downtown from the riverfront property and wetlands that line the Connecticut and Chicopee Rivers in the northern and western parts of the neighborhood.

The West End neighborhood is one of the oldest industrial centers in the United States and is home to several former textile mills that opened in the early- to mid-1800s. The Dwight Manufacturing Company mills, which later merged with the Perkins and Cabot Manufacturing mills, line the Connecticut and Chicopee Rivers in the West End neighborhood. The development of the mills was facilitated in large part due to the completion of the Dwight Canal in the 1830s, which provided water power

and shipping access to the mills. From this period through the mid-twentieth century, the West End neighborhood thrived as an industrial powerhouse and was home to a high concentration of Irish, Polish, and French Canadian immigrants who moved to the neighborhood to work in its mills. In recognition of the neighborhood's industrial history, the neighborhood is home to two historic districts, including the Dwight Manufacturing Company Housing District and the Cabotville Common Historic District.

While the city of Chicopee and the West End neighborhood flourished as an industrial center through the mid twentieth century, Chicopee entered a period of decline in the 1970s and 1980s. Following national trends towards de-industrialization, several of the mills located in the West End neighborhood closed. The mills' closure led to a period of disinvestment and population decline in the West End neighborhood over the past 30 to 40 years. Following this period of disinvestment, the West End neighborhood has faced several challenges including a high concentration of brownfield sites, a declining population, and underutilized infrastructure.

Findings

CCP's public engagement campaign provided greater insight into current strengths, weaknesses, and opportunities facing the West End neighborhood. CCP collected 104 responses to the visual preference survey administered at an in-person event in the West End and 66 responses to the online visual preference survey. In addition, CCP conducted interviews with nine different stakeholders in the community.

Several key themes emerged from the public engagement campaign, allowing CCP to identify several assets and challenges in the West End neighborhood. In terms of neighborhood assets, one of the major themes that emerged was that the West End neighborhood has a relatively affordable housing stock and is home to a tight-knit, culturally diverse community. In terms of neighborhood challenges, one of the major findings from the public engagement campaign was that the downtown area does not provide a favorable business climate and that outdated land-use regulations at times work against this business climate.

Recommendations

CCP developed five broad neighborhood recommendations to guide future housing and economic development in the West End neighborhood. These recommendations were based on synthesizing findings from CCP's public engagement campaign; reviewing existing literature including precedent studies, comprehensive plans, and academic journal articles; and conducting demographic research on the study area. CCP's five neighborhood-level recommendations include both housing and economic development recommendations.

In terms of housing recommendations, CCP recommends that the City create an Urban Center Tax Increment Financing program in the West End neighborhood, which is a program that will help property owners in the West End neighborhood

retrofit and rehabilitate existing structures. Funding from this program can also be used to support low-income housing development in the neighborhood. CCP also recommends that the Client adopt the Community Preservation Act, which could provide funding for the construction or renovation of low-income housing through a city-wide tax surcharge of up to 3%. CCP's final housing recommendation is that the City to adopt a Chapter 40R, formally known as a Smart Growth Zoning Overlay District, which increases the legal allowable housing density within a neighborhood. Implementing the Chapter 40R in the West End neighborhood could help to effectively increase the supply of housing in the neighborhood, while decreasing overall housing costs.

In terms of economic development recommendations, CCP recommends that the City increases its capacity to support economic development in the West End neighborhood by convening a multi-stakeholder committee to discuss how to improve the business environment in the West End neighborhood, and hiring an economic development planner responsible for executing an economic development strategy to guide future development in the neighborhood.

CCP's second economic development recommendation is that the City modify land-use regulations, which can play a major role in creating a successful economic hub. Examples of land-use regulation

modifications include modifying the existing parking requirements and converting to a two-way road network in the neighborhood, which will allow for denser development and improved business visibility.

Conclusion

Findings from CCP's public engagement campaign identified several key assets and challenges facing the West End neighborhood and directly informed CCP's recommendations. The City can use the recommendations outlined in this report to inform future housing and economic development interventions in the West End neighborhood.

DRAFT REPORT



Chapter 1: Project Overview

Introduction

Collaborative Community Planning (CCP) is a group of graduate students in the master's of Regional Planning studio course in the Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning (LARP) department at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. For the past five years, the city of Chicopee Department of Planning and Development (hereafter referred to as "the Client") has partnered with the LARP department to address a variety of planning projects in the city of Chicopee.

Past studio projects have addressed land-use and commercial development challenges along the Memorial Drive corridor (summarized in the 2014 *Memorial Drive Revitalization* report), food access and greenway planning throughout the city (summarized in the 2015 *Open Space and Food Access in the city of Chicopee* report), and public engagement strategies in Aldenville (summarized in the 2017 *Restoring the Heart: A Community Vision for the Neighborhood of Aldenville* report). In fall 2018, the Client partnered with CCP to develop a West End housing and economic development plan. The purpose of this plan is to diversify housing options and increase economic development activity in the West End of Chicopee.

This chapter provides an overview of the project. First, this chapter describes the current opportunity facing the West End neighborhood, the renovation of two West

End mill buildings into a combined approximately 1,000 apartment units. Second, this chapter explains the Client directives offered to CCP in developing the plan, as well as the objectives and methodology developed by the team to address each Client directive.

Figure 1.0: Cabotville Mill, 2018

The Opportunity

A main driver behind this report is the impending redevelopment of the Lyman and Cabotville mills. The two



mills serve as major landmarks for the neighborhood, bordering its northern edge, but have sat vacant for several decades. The Lyman and Cabotville mills were recently bought by two real estate developers, Mount Holyoke Management LLC and Silverbrick LLC, respectively.

The renovation of the Cabotville and Lyman Mills

are expected to have a catalytic impact on the revitalization of the West End neighborhood. This section will provide a brief overview of each of the mill redevelopment projects and their expected impact on the surrounding neighborhood.

Cabotville Mill Renovation Project

In May 2018, SilverBrick LLC and 4 Perkins LLC purchased the Cabotville Mill located at 165 Front Street in the West End neighborhood for \$7.8 million and submitted plans to renovate the mill for future residential and commercial development. A former cotton mill built in the 1840s, the Cabotville Mill is a five-story brick building that features over 63,000 square feet of space and is home to a number of small businesses.

Development plans for the Cabotville Mill renovation call for the space to support both retail and residential uses. The development plans call for roughly 40,000 square feet of space to be dedicated to light manufacturers and small businesses. In addition, the renovation project is expected to support about 600 market-rate apartments, most of which will be studio and one-bedroom apartments. The renovation project is funded through a \$2.6 million grant from MassWorks, which will support infrastructure improvements at the mill including new sewer lines, pump stations, and generators.

Lyman Mills Renovation Project

In January 2018, Mount Holyoke Development applied for a special permit to convert Lyman Mills, a historic mill located on the corner of Front and Depot Streets adjacent to the Cabotville Mill in the West End neighborhood. Lyman Mills is a former cotton mill that dates to the 1840s. The mill has five stories and has roughly 65,000 square feet of space.

Development plans call for Lyman Mills to be redeveloped into 110 market-rate, live-work loft apartment units. Roughly 90 percent of the funding for the mill renovation is being funded through a \$2.6 million grant from MassWorks.

Expected Impact of Private Development on the West End Neighborhood

The incoming residential development in the West End neighborhood is expected to have a catalytic impact on the West End neighborhood, considerably increasing the number of renter-occupied rental units and the overall age demographic of the neighborhood.

Expected Change in Renter-Occupied Units

Figure 1.1 presents the total number of renter-occupied units in the West End neighborhood in 2000 and 2015 and the expected number of renter-occupied units in 2020. With the renovation of the Cabotville and Lyman Mills, CCP estimates that the West End neighborhood will experience a roughly 86% increase in the total number of renter-occupied housing units in the neighborhood between 2000 and 2020.

Figure 1.1: Expected renter-occupied units in the West End

As Figure 1.1 shows, there were 740 renter-occupied housing units in 2000 and 666 renter-occupied housing units in 2015 in the West End neighborhood. In 2020, CCP expects that there will be at least 1,376 renter-occupied housing units in the West End neighborhood. This projected number represents the total number of renter-occupied units in 2015, in addition to the 600 new units at the Cabotville Mill and the 110 new live-work units at the Lyman Mill (710 new units total).

This expected change in renter-occupied units holds substantial implications for the West End neighborhood. First, nearly doubling the total number of renter-occupied housing units in the neighborhood, existing businesses will



likely experience increased demand. In order to meet this demand, businesses either will likely need to expand their current service offerings or new businesses will need to open to support the growing population.

Expected Change in Age Demographics

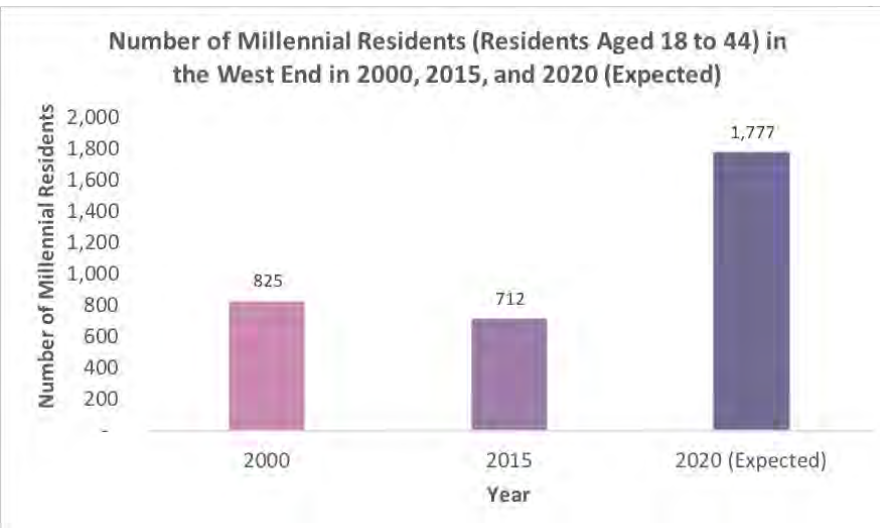
Figure 1.2 presents the total number of millennial residents living in the West End neighborhood in 2000 and 2015 and the expected number of millennial residents that will be living in the neighborhood in 2020. Between 2000 and 2020, CCP estimates that there will be a roughly *Figure 1.2: Expected number of millennial residents in the West End*

115% increase in the total number of millennial residents living in the neighborhood.

CCP defined millennial residents as individuals who are between 18 and 44 years old. As Figure 1.2 shows,

there were 825 millennial residents in the West End neighborhood in 2000 compared to 712 millennial residents in 2015. In 2020, CCP estimates that there will be roughly 1,777 millennial residents living in the West End neighborhood. CCP derived this latter number based on the assumption that half of the 710 new rental units at the Cabotville and Lyman Mills will be occupied by one person and the other half of the units will be occupied by two people, resulting in a total of 1,065 new millennial residents living in the redeveloped mills.

The expected influx of additional millennial residents to the neighborhood carries both opportunities and challenges. In terms of opportunities, the West End neighborhood will



likely experience increased demand for amenities and services catered to individuals within the millennial age

range (e.g. coffee shops, bars, and/or entertainment venues). As a result, new businesses might move into the neighborhood, helping to improve the overall business mix in the West End neighborhood. In terms of challenges, rental rates could potentially rise in the neighborhood, as the neighborhood offers a more diverse set of amenities tailored to millennial residents living in the market-rate rental units. Rising rental rates could also potentially induce displacement pressures on existing businesses and residents in the neighborhood.

Client Directive

First, this section discusses the Client directive of this project. Second, this section describes CCP's team objectives and how they relate to the Client directive. Third, this section explains the methodology that CCP developed to achieve the team objectives.

In order to revitalize Chicopee's West End neighborhood, the city of Chicopee developed five directives. The Client requested that CCP conduct a neighborhood-scale housing plan for Chicopee's West End. In order to do so, the Client requested that CCP conduct a public engagement strategy and a land-use study. The goals of this project include:

1. Develop an understanding of historic housing patterns within the neighborhood and how those

patterns have impacted the current layout of housing throughout the neighborhood.

2. Analyze currently planned housing projects within the neighborhood against the neighborhood's housing needs and market demand.

3. Suggest initiatives that will increase housing diversity (single family, rental, townhome, condo, and/or mixed use) as well as commercial land-uses to increase economic activity within the neighborhood.

4. Develop recommendations for neighborhood and specific initiatives to improve/advance housing projects at a variety of scales. Recommendations should consider the following: zoning regulation/site regulation changes, funding mechanisms, improvements to urban form, density recommendations, and appropriate housing forms.

5. Develop site-specific case studies implementing the above recommendations including development of site-specific pro formas.

Team Objectives

CCP developed a team objective and methodology for each Client directive, which is presented in Figure 1.3.

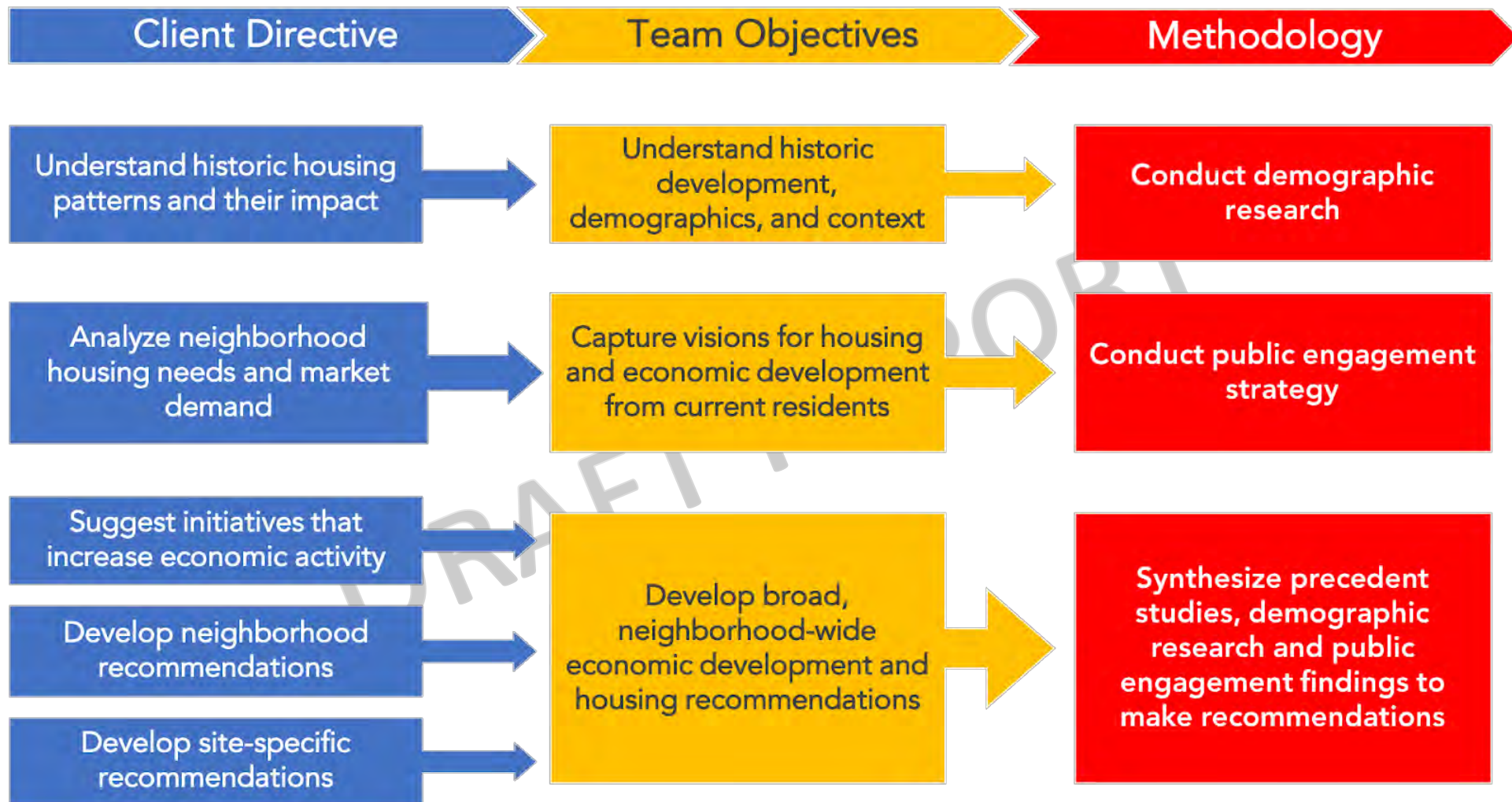


Figure 1.3: Client directive and team objectives as they relate to the project's methodology

To meet these Client directives, CCP developed three objectives. The three team objectives are:

1. Understand housing and economic development trends in the neighborhood from 1950 through today.
2. Develop a public engagement strategy which captures visions for housing and economic development in the West End from both current residents and stakeholders.
3. Develop a housing and economic development plan with recommendations for the West End neighborhood.

Team Methodology

By distilling the five Client directives into three objectives, CCP was able to identify a distinct methodology for achieving each objective. To meet the first objective, CCP researched the history of housing and economic development in the West End neighborhood from the 17th century through today. The team then analyzed past and present demographics in the city of Chicopee and the West End neighborhood to understand historic trends and market demand.

To meet the second objective, CCP conducted a public engagement strategy. The strategy focused on collecting visions for development in the West End through a visual preference survey (VPS) disseminated at Chicopee's

annual Halloween Spooktacular event in October 2018. The VPS was also disseminated online. The public engagement strategy also included 9 stakeholder interviews. By engaging current residents of the West End, potential future residents of the West End, and key stakeholders who know and understand the neighborhood, CCP captured visions for future housing and economic development in the West End.

To address the third objective, CCP synthesized research gathered through the first two objectives to develop neighborhood-wide recommendations for housing and economic development in Chicopee's West End neighborhood. The third objective solely focuses on capturing neighborhood-wide, rather than site-specific, recommendations, as was outlined in the original Client directive. As the scope of work for the project evolved, CCP limited its team objective to examine broad neighborhood recommendations for the West End.

Conclusion

The renovation of the Cabotville and Lyman Mills present clear opportunities and challenges for the West End neighborhood. Using the five Client directives as a guiding framework, CCP's neighborhood recommendations aim to make the most of the current opportunity facing the neighborhood, while mitigating the expected challenges associated with the mill

redevelopment projects.

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Chapter 2: Background on Chicopee

Introduction

This chapter offers an overview of the West End neighborhood. First, this chapter describes and contextualizes the geographic location of Chicopee within the state and the region, as well as how the West End neighborhood fits within the city of Chicopee. Second, this chapter explains the historic economic development of the West End, reviewing the evolution of the City's economy from an agrarian to an industrial and postindustrial economy. Third, this chapter provides an introduction to the West End neighborhood through a photo tour of the neighborhood. Fourth, this chapter provides a Lynch analysis of the West End neighborhood, showing how the neighborhood fits into the larger city and regional scale from different transportation vantage points (e.g. walking versus driving around the neighborhood). Last, this chapter concludes with a business inventory of the West End neighborhood.

Geography

The city of Chicopee is located in the Connecticut River Valley of western Massachusetts, approximately 90 miles west of Boston.

Figure 2.0: Map of Massachusetts

The second largest city by population in western Massachusetts, Chicopee is situated in north central



Hampden county. The city is bordered by rural-suburban communities, including South Hadley and Granby to the north and Ludlow to the east. Chicopee is also adjacent to metropolitan areas including Springfield and West Springfield to the south and Holyoke to the west.

With its unique intersection at four major thoroughfares (Interstate 91, Interstate 291, Interstate 391, and the Massachusetts Turnpike), the City has earned its nickname as “The Crossroads of New England.” In addition to these transportation networks, Chicopee also contains the Connecticut River to the west, and the Chicopee River cutting through the center. These waterways have played an important role in driving the industrial development of the city.

Based on its original layout, Chicopee has five distinct historical neighborhoods including Aldenville, Willimansett, Chicopee Center (Cabotville), Chicopee Falls, and Fairview.

The West End neighborhood is located in Chicopee Center, one of the City’s two historic mill districts (the other being Chicopee Falls). Situated in the southwestern corner of the city, the West End is a 190-acre neighborhood defined by the Connecticut River to the west, the Chicopee River to the north, and Center Street to the south/southeast. Interstate 391 bisects the neighborhood, dividing the West End’s dense residential and commercial downtown from the riverfront, and providing easy access to the West End neighborhood from the highway.



Figure 2.1: Cities and towns surrounding Chicopee

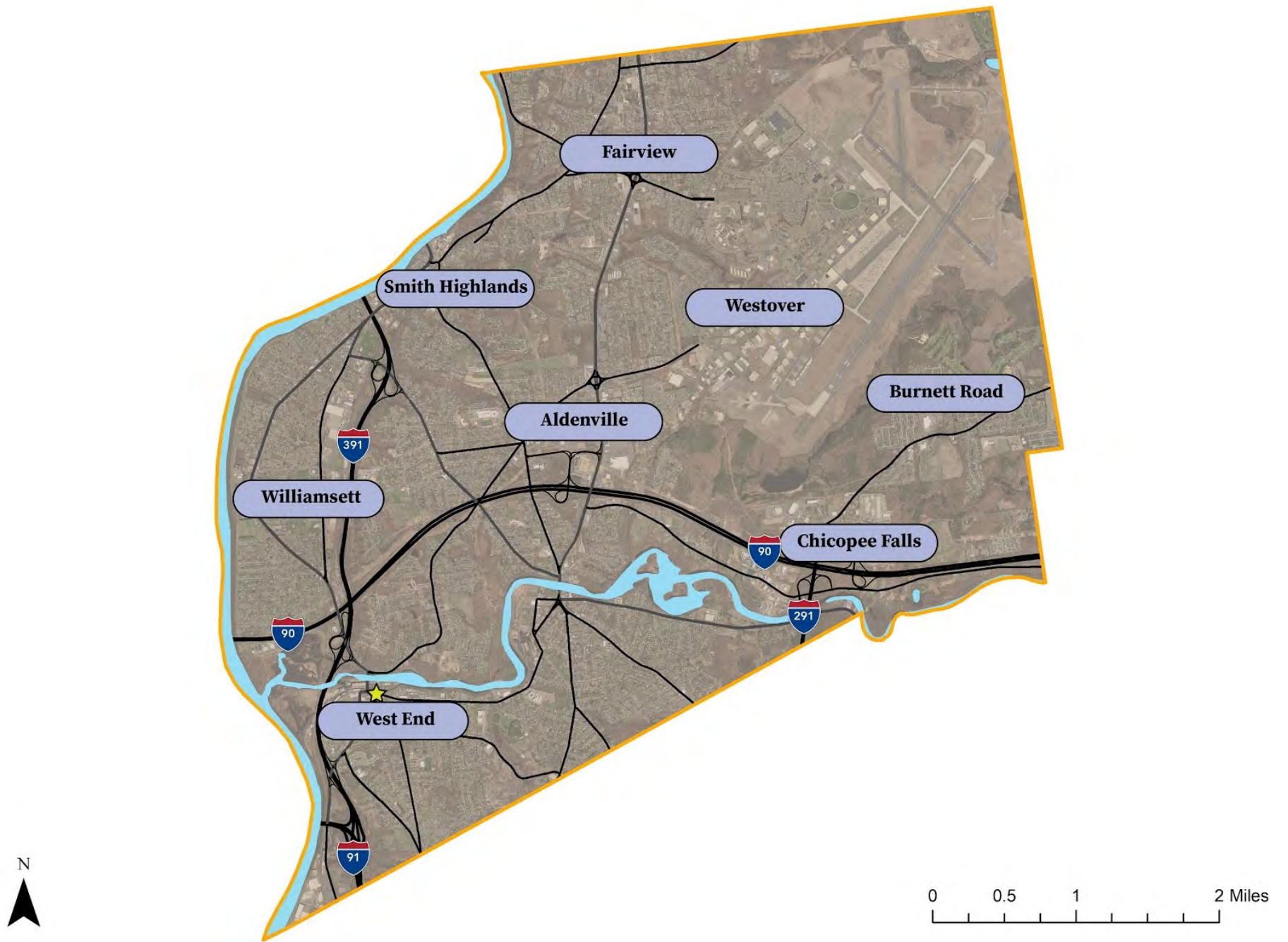


Figure 2.2: Villages of Chicopee



Figure 2.3: Landmarks in the West End neighborhood

History

Agricultural History

In 1630, just a decade after the English Puritans arrived in Plymouth, MA, a group of settlers moved west in search of fertile farmland. Among them was William Pynchon who arrived in the Connecticut River Valley in the early 1640s to find a vast network of rivers traversing a rich and fertile valley, presenting an ideal location for farming. Despite the presence of the Pocumtuc Indians in the valley, Pynchon settled the City of Springfield along the edge of the Connecticut River in 1641. By 1659 additional settlers followed him, expanding their settlement north along the Connecticut River and east along the Chicopee River. While it would remain a village of Springfield for over two hundred years, the city of Chicopee began to take form. Japhet and Henry Chapin, young brothers raised in Springfield, were the first to construct homes and build farms in Chicopee, one on Chicopee Street in Willimansett and the other on Exchange Street in the West End. Throughout Chicopee's early history in the 17th and 18th centuries, its residents remained focused on establishing homesteads and small scale farms, relying on the river to feed and water their crops and livestock (Szetela, 1948).

Industrial History

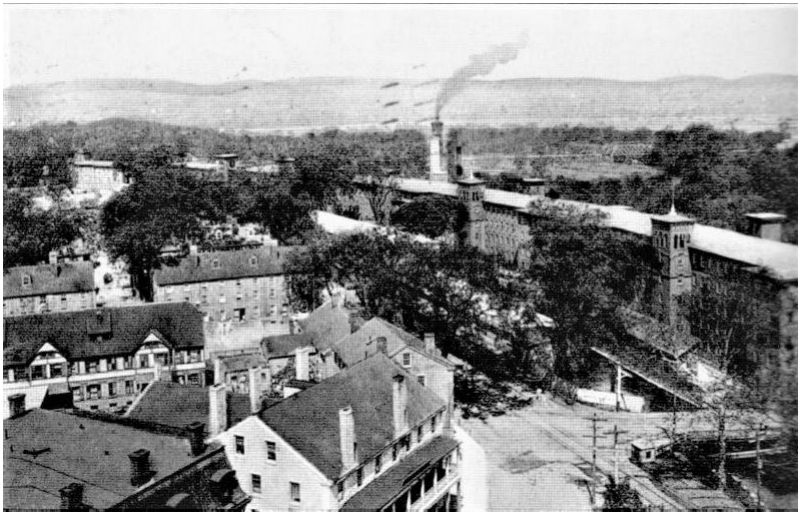
By the turn of the century, Chicopee residents began to consider other possibilities presented by riverside dwelling, aside from agriculture. In 1791 Chicopee's first industrial endeavor was established, a saw mill located in Chicopee Falls. In 1806 a small paper mill was constructed in the West End, followed by several rudimentary cotton mill operations. Among the oldest industrial centers in the United States, Chicopee Falls and the West End began to develop as manufacturing hubs even before the Industrial Revolution got into full swing. These early cotton mill operations were simple in comparison of what was to come. These mills housed just a handful of carding machines and spinning frames to make yarn, which was then given to local women to weave into cloth on hand looms at home.

In 1827 David Ames bought the paper mill located in the West End, and invented the first rotary paper-making machinery, representing a shift in the city toward mechanization. At this time, wealthy and educated Springfield entrepreneurs began to recognize Chicopee's potential for water-powered industry, and called on their networks back in Boston to invest in the blossoming industry in the western part of the state. The influence of Boston businessmen transformed the city of Chicopee, with four large mills built between the West End and Chicopee Falls from 1822 to 1831. Under the umbrella of the Chicopee Manufacturing Company, these development

projects not only included mill buildings, but water power infrastructure, tenement housing, streetscapes, and even schools. By 1830, Chicopee was swept into the heyday of Industrial America.

Figure 2.4: A view of the West End's mills c. 1830 Source: Chicopee Archives Online

In 1834 Edmund Ames relied on investments and support from Lowell mill builders to construct the Ames Manufacturing Company, which would remain an integral part of the West End neighborhood to this day. Initially founded to produce cutlery and tools, the company rapidly expanded to include weapons. The Ames Manufacturing



Company became a primary producer of bronze cannons, swords, and sabers, with major contracts with the United States government. The company also produced bronze statues for wealthy families, as well as a set of bronze doors

which still remain in the Capitol Building in Washington DC. By 1836 the Cabot Manufacturing Company was established in the West End, followed by the Dwight Manufacturing Company in 1841.

Figure 2.5: Mill workers in front of the Cabotville Mill gate c. 1880



Source: Chicopee Archives Online



Figure 2.6:
Cabotville

The

gate in 2018

The booming factory industry required a dependable labor pool. At first, this was made up primarily of young women who had been recruited from nearby communities including West Springfield, Granby, Belchertown, and Holyoke. When those labor forces were exhausted, factory owners sent wagons into the countryside of Hadley, Amherst, and the hilltowns in search of mill workers. Thousands of young women moved to Chicopee for work, where they lived communally in crowded tenement buildings, working over 12 hours a day.

The influx of the mill worker population led to the settlement of the West End as a true town center. The first general store was constructed in 1825 followed by another in 1834 and another in 1835. The presence of these amenities brought families into the West End, where they built houses in town, which in turn drew in legal and

medical professionals including lawyers and doctors. Soon those were followed by other small businesses such as barbers, dressmakers, and furniture makers. The first post office opened in the city in 1840 and the first bank, Cabot Bank, in 1845. Artisans came next, with the first daguerreotype (an early photo) made in Chicopee, which hung in Boston for the inauguration of President Harrison in 1841. This boom in population, services, and industry, along with the introduction of the railroad in 1846, led to the town's incorporation in 1848. Finally independent from Springfield, Chicopee would remain a town until 1891 when it transitioned into a city form of government.



Figure
People

2.7:

gathered in the West End c. 1900 Source: Chicopee Archives Online
Another shift came to the West End in the 1850s,



Figure 2.8: Solin's Market at 110 West Street c. 1919 Source: Chicopee Archives Online

when Irish immigrants began to arrive in town seeking work in the factories. For the first time, the mill floor became a shared space for men, women, and children, instead of only young women. French Canadian and Polish immigrants came in the second half of the 19th century, helping to redefine the West End as an ethnically diverse neighborhood.

The growing immigrant population also signaled an important



Figure 2.9: Cotton mill workers, c. 1880 Source: Chicopee Archives Online

demographic and cultural shift in the West End, solidifying the neighborhood's economic dependence on the mill economy. Previously, the mill worker population was composed of single women who came from nearby farming communities. If the mills were forced to lay off workers, most women could return to their family farms. But, for the growing immigrant population, the West End became home. If the mill economy turned downward, entire family incomes could disappear, having severe impacts.

Yet, in addition, newly arrived Irish, Polish, and French Canadian immigrant families had come to the West End with enthusiasm for settling into their new community. Many opened restaurants and other businesses catering to their fellow immigrant communities. Others became involved in local politics. Churches were built to serve both the Roman Catholic and Protestant communities. Unlike the Yankee settlers before them, these immigrant communities were more diverse, less educated, and squarely situated in the working class.

Constantly impacted by the ebbs and flows of the market, the West End's mill economy waxed and waned throughout the late 19th and early 20th century. Bolstered by the Civil War in the 1860s, and again by WWI in the 1910s, the West End was shocked by the impacts of the Great Depression. Dwight Manufacturing Company, which



Figure 2.10: A young Polish immigrant in Chicopee's West End c. 1880 Source: Jendrysik, 2005

had previously absorbed Cabot Manufacturing Company and Perkins Manufacturing Company, closed in 1927 after relocating to Alabama. Leaving over 2,000 people unemployed and without other viable job opportunities, and eliminating an important source of tax revenue for the city, this event was a severe blow to the West End. Other mills also closed at this time, either being absorbed by larger corporations or going bankrupt.

From the 1930s into the middle of the 20th century, the West End's manufacturing economy persisted, with smaller mills opening, able to rely on and utilize the existing infrastructure and buildings. In the 1930s a Springfield businessman opened Industrial Buildings Corporation which

brought Berkshire Upholstered Furniture Company, Patricia Undergarment Company, Lawrence Hat Company, Young Broom Company, and Universal Jewelry Case Company into the Cabotville Mill. In 1940 F.W. Sickles Company, a large electrical and radio manufacturer moved into the Dwight building. Diversification of the mill economy was essential at this time, making workers less dependent on the success of a few large companies by spreading out the economic risk (Szetela, 1940).

Post-Industrial History

By the middle of the 20th century, the city of Chicopee began to experience a period of deindustrialization and suburbanization. Following national market trends, many manufacturing firms moved operations overseas. For the firms that stayed, most were forced to adhere with new use-based zoning regulations, as well as urban renewal policies focused on suburbanization. As planners encouraged automobile-centered communities which segregated residential neighborhoods from industrial areas, industry and commerce were relocated to other parts of the city. In 1967 Interstate 391 was built, which bisected the West End neighborhood and provided convenient high speed routes which avoided travel through the West End. At this time, Chicopee's Memorial Drive corridor also began to expand, developing into a nearly 4-mile long commercial corridor catering to automobiles. Manufacturing also moved outside of the West End, toward Chicopee's other manufacturing hub in Chicopee Falls, or closer to the Westover Air Force Base located north of the downtown.

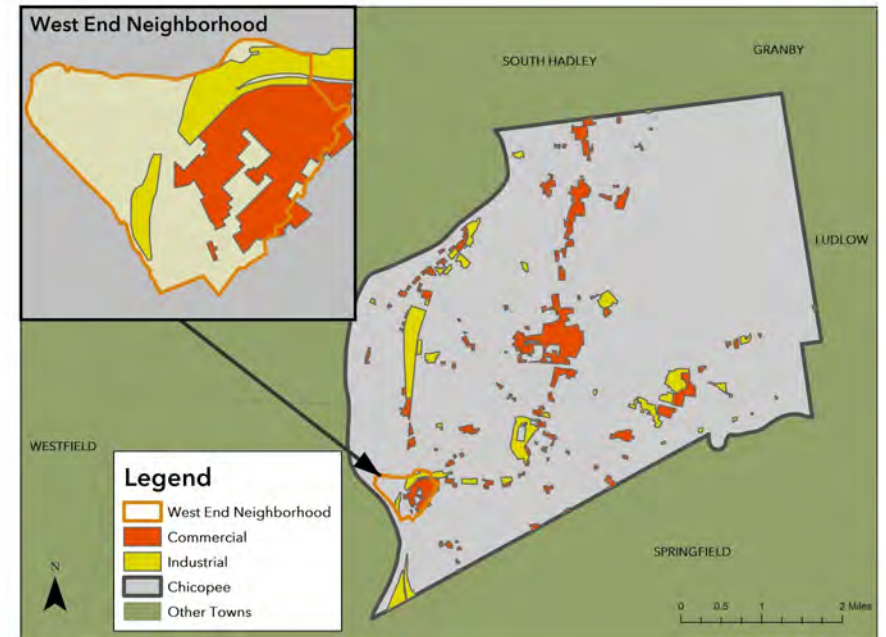


Figure 2.11: Commercial and industrial areas of Chicopee today

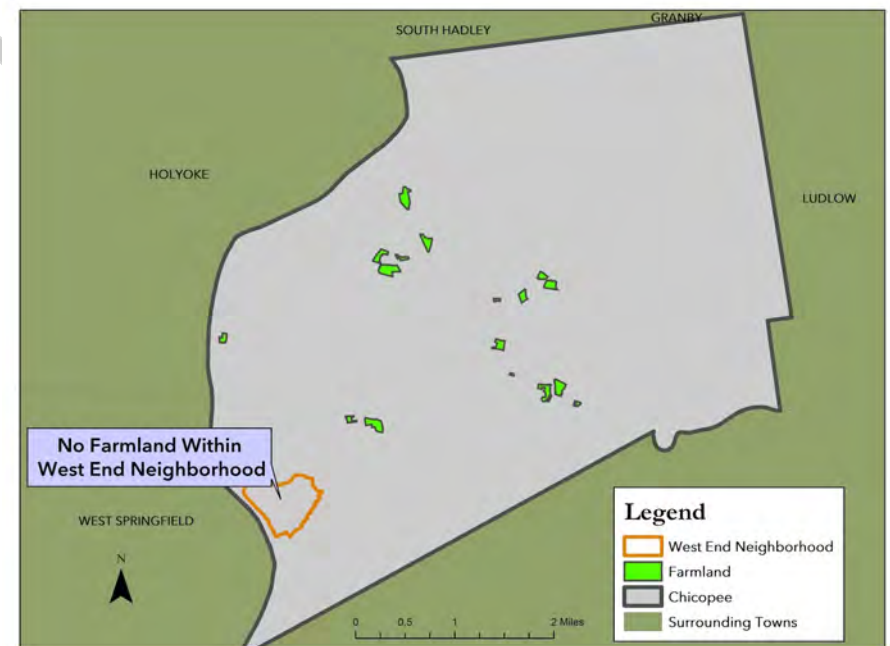


Figure 2.12: Active farm land in Chicopee today



*Figure 2.13: Memorial Drive shopping plaza today.
Source: Asiamah, 2018*



Figure 2.14: U.S. Tsubaki, a manufacturer of roller chains, located in Westover Industrial Park Source: Treeger, 2018

Suburbanization and urban renewal drove employers out of the West End neighborhood, resulting in the closure and downsizing of Chicopee's major and smaller mill operations. Without jobs to offer residents, the city saw a sharp decline in population, and subsequent economic disinvestment from the region. Due to its particularly close economic relationship with the mill economy, the West End neighborhood was seriously impacted. The impacts can be seen today, including vacant storefronts, aging infrastructure, and a depressed housing market.



Figure 2.15: A vacant storefront at West St. and Exchange St. in the West End



Figure 2.16 Homes on Front St. in the West End



Figure 2.17: A vacant lot at the corner of West St. and Exchange St. in the West End

Still, some economic activity continues to persist in the West End today, related mostly to restaurants and services. The neighborhood's rich cultural diversity continues to be represented by businesses which serve the local and regional immigrant communities, including several ethnic bakeries and hair salons.



Figure 2.18: Bob's Bakery, a Polish bakery on Exchange St.



Figure 2.19: Dino's European Hair Styling, located on Cabot St.

The neighborhood is also home to some additional small businesses including a karate studio, a coffee shop, and several auto repair garages. Notably, when compared to other parts of the city, the West End has a limited presence of corporately owned businesses or chain businesses. The handful that are present in the neighborhood include Family Dollar, Metro PCS, and Boost Mobile. While these businesses offer limited job opportunities, they provide goods and services to the residents of the neighborhood.



Conclusion

Figure 2.20: Family Dollar, located on Exchange St.

The city of Chicopee's West End neighborhood has long been a cultural and economic hub. Its history of offering residents the opportunity to live, work, and play amongst family, neighbors, and friends has created what many current residents still call a close knit community. In

addition, the West End has long been a place for newcomers, embracing and fostering cultures from around the world. From Puritan settlers to eastern European and French Canadian immigrants to the more recently arrived Latino population, the West End has long welcomed all kinds of people. In 2018, the community prepares to welcome another new population as its mills redevelop into apartments. While the industry which once sustained this neighborhood has fled to other places, leaving the West End with few employment opportunities to sustain its population, the community must prepare to pivot its economy toward new types of industry, which will breathe life into the West End once again.

A Tour of the West End

Site Visits

CCP conducted site visits throughout fall 2018. Team members participated in a guided tour with the Client as an initial introduction to the West End. Subsequently, team members visited and spent time in the West End, both walking and driving around the neighborhood. Visits were made on varying days of the week and at varying times in order to gain a broader sense of what it is like to live, work, or spend time in the neighborhood. During the visits, attention was paid toward

identifying the strengths, weaknesses and opportunities of the area, particularly focused on housing and economic development.

Through the site visits, CCP observed many strengths in the West End. For example, the West End contains a busy transportation network, with higher traffic flow around the perimeter of the neighborhood, but also considerable traffic flow through the neighborhood. This trend appeared fairly consistent throughout the day and into the night. In addition, the West End has a dense street network, which demonstrates the vibrant and walkable mixed-use center that once thrived there. The West End also has a large quantity of residential properties located throughout the West End neighborhood, many within walking distance to downtown businesses. With regard to the West End's business environment, the neighborhood has mostly escaped the corporatization of its downtown, with the majority of its businesses being small and locally owned, an asset to the local economy.

Together, these strengths represent significant opportunities for revitalization of the neighborhood. For example, the high traffic flow represents an opportunity to draw those passersby into local businesses. The mostly locally owned business stock represents opportunities for investing in and growing the local economy. And finally, the historic settlement of the West End as a dense mixed-use neighborhood remains evident on the fabric of the

landscape today, demonstrating the opportunity for revitalizing this neighborhood into the diverse and thriving cultural and economic hub it once was.

In addition, CCP also observed some critical challenges in the West End. For example, CCP noticed that foot traffic in the neighborhood is minimal. People on foot tend to be coming and going directly from automobiles to businesses or offices versus spending time walking around. In addition, CCP observed the high quantity of neglected, vacant, and dilapidated structures in the West End. These include not only residential properties, but also very large former industrial and municipal buildings which dominate the landscape of the neighborhood. CCP observed that these large, unkempt buildings appear to contribute to an overall feeling of disrepair and disinvestment in the West End. Together, these challenges also provide opportunities: residential and commercial renovation will repair the built environment of the West End, giving the neighborhood a face-lift while also encouraging economic development. Efforts around placemaking and wayfinding will encourage those who pass through the West End to stop and visit. Together, these revitalization efforts will drive a more lively feeling in the West End, making it a better place to live, work, and spend time.

The intersection of Center St. and Exchange St. marks the heart of the West End neighborhood. The intersection has views of the Cabotville mill buildings to

the east, the city hall to the south, and the neighborhood's hallmark restaurant, Munich Haus, to the west. One block west is the intersection of Cabot St. and Exchange St. The West End is also home to several other community assets, including School Street Arts, Goodworks Coffee House, and the Center for Martial Arts and Fitness.

Just one block north of these two intersections sit a long row of 19th century mill buildings which sit all along Front St. The sprawling set of buildings tower above the rest of the neighborhood, providing a visual landmark from most places throughout the West End.

The West End is home to a number of structures that date to the 19th century, including buildings that have been converted to apartments for current residents of the neighborhood.

While the West End has other housing types, most of the current housing stock is composed of multi-family buildings built before the 1940s.

Another well-known community landmark in the West End is Lucy Wisniewski Park, which marks the original town common. Today, the park provides recreational space for adults and children.

The western edge of the West End is marked by Interstate 391, which runs north about 4 miles to the nearby city of Holyoke. Like the mills, I-391 is also visible from various points throughout the West End.

In addition, I-391 provides the link between I-91 and

the West End neighborhood. In this way, I-391 serves as a gateway to the West End.

The west side of the neighborhood is home to several important cultural hubs including the American Legion, the Portuguese American Club, and Bernadino's Bakery.



Figure 2.21: The central intersection of the West End neighborhood at Center St. and Exchange St.



Figure 2.22: The Munich Haus at Center St. and Exchange St.



Figure 2.23: Shopping plaza at Cabot St. and Exchange St.



Figure 2.24: Small businesses at Cabot St. and Exchange St.



Figure 2.25: School Street Arts, an arts studio located in the West End



Figure 2.26: Cabotville Mill



Figure 2.27: Lyman Mill



Figure 2.28: A view from Front Street



Figure 2.29: Former mill worker housing tenements, currently housing West End residents in rental units



Figure 2.30: Typical housing stock in the West End neighborhood



Figure 2.31: Basketball courts in Lucy Wisniowski Park



Figure 2.32: A residential neighborhood in the West End, located beneath the I-391 overpass



Figure 2.33: An aerial view of I-391 intersecting with Center Street at the gateway to the West End neighborhood



Figure 2.34: The Portuguese American Club located at Dwight St. and Exchange St.

Lynch Analysis

In addition to conducting a site tour of the West End, CCP also conducted a Lynch analysis at the regional and neighborhood level. Lynch analyses are based on urban planner Kevin Lynch's theory of urban form. According to Lynch, neighborhoods are composed of five parts including edges, districts, paths, nodes, and landmarks. Urban planners often use Lynch analyses to identify the urban form of a particular study area according to different transportation vantage points (e.g. walking versus driving) and different geographic scales.

Edges refer to neighborhood boundaries that may or may not conform to legal boundaries. **Districts** help to group the study area into categories and often reflect the land-use, culture, or neighborhood character of particular areas. **Paths** refer to areas that support the multimodal transportation of people and goods. **Nodes** refer to focal points of the study area or places residents or visitors spent time. Finally, **landmarks** refer to places that stand out within the study area and can be anything from historical features to community centers.

Using a Lynch analysis framework, this section analyzes the West End within the context of the city of Chicopee, the Springfield Metro region, and finally the West End neighborhood.

Lynch Analysis of the Region

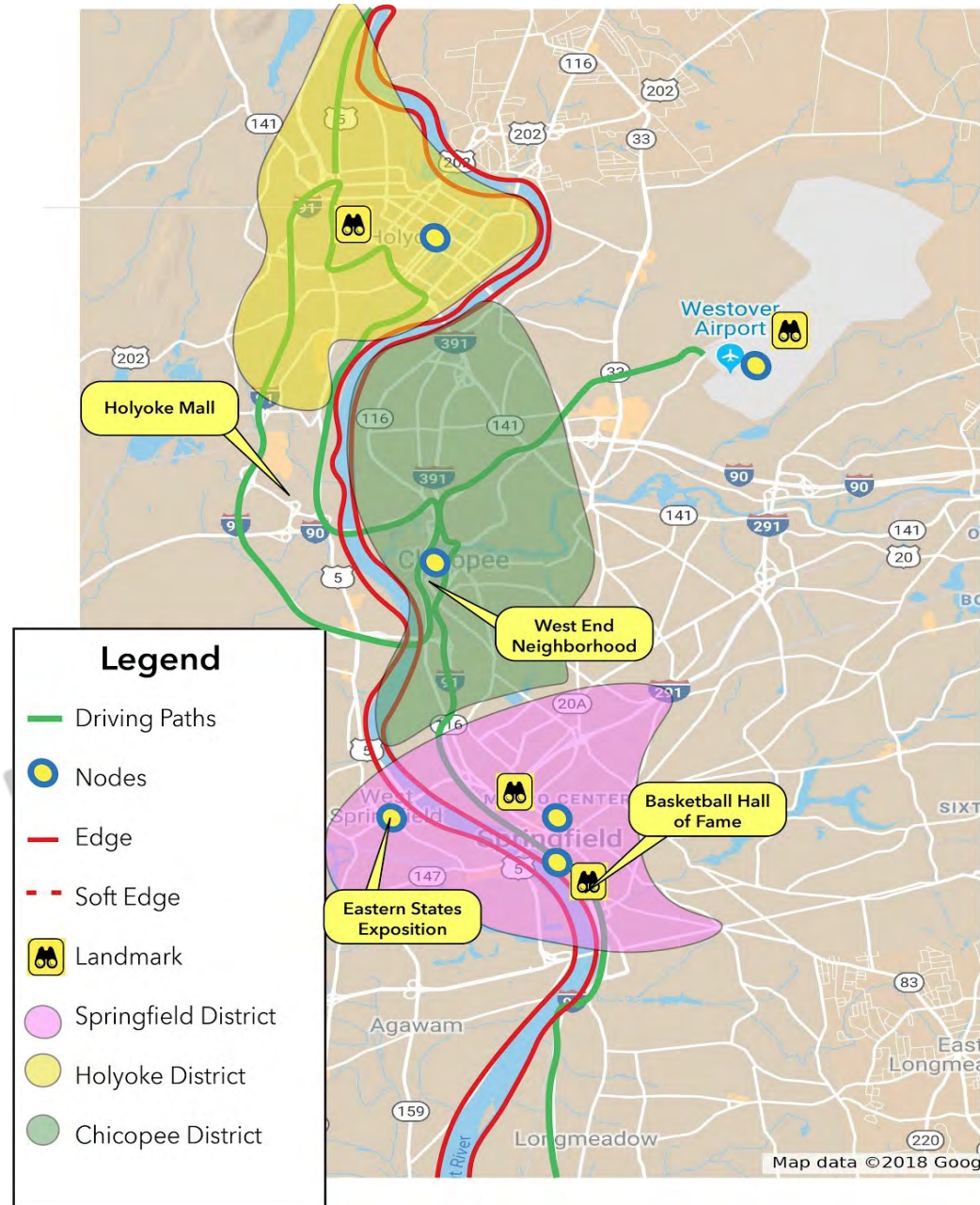


Figure 2.35: Regional Lynch analysis of the lower Pioneer Valley area

First, performing a Lynch analysis of the Springfield Metro Area provides insight into how the city of Chicopee fits into the Connecticut River and the I-91 corridor. Figure 2.36 uses automotive transportation as a lens, with the average travel time between each district around 12 minutes, driving at 60 miles per hour on an interstate highway.

District

Within the Springfield Metro Region, Chicopee is one of three districts, consisting of the district between downtown Springfield and downtown Holyoke. First, the Springfield region includes both sides of the river, including the Springfield downtown city center, as well as West Springfield, home of the annual Eastern States Exposition. Second, the district of Holyoke includes the downtown city center, ending at the Connecticut River to the south. Finally, the Chicopee district, while not covering the entire city, covers the eastern region bordering the Connecticut River and the I-391 corridor.

Edges

Within this metro region, edges tend to occur on a more local scale. However, the Connecticut River does serve as a primary edge between these communities. Only a few bridges travel from east to west, all of which require driving on an interstate highway.

Landmarks and Nodes

On the regional scale, nodes and landmarks within the region are primarily functional meeting areas, rather than world-known tourist destinations. Three exceptions include the Basketball Hall of Fame, the Doctor Seuss Museum and the Eastern States Exposition, all of which are large attractions for visitors from outside of the region and are located within Springfield and West Springfield. More local nodes include Holyoke Center, Chicopee's West End, West Springfield, and Union Station, which serve primarily as destination places for people who work or live in the area.

Next, Figure 2.42 places Chicopee within the regional context, zooming in on paths, edges and landmarks within the city.

Lynch Analysis of Chicopee

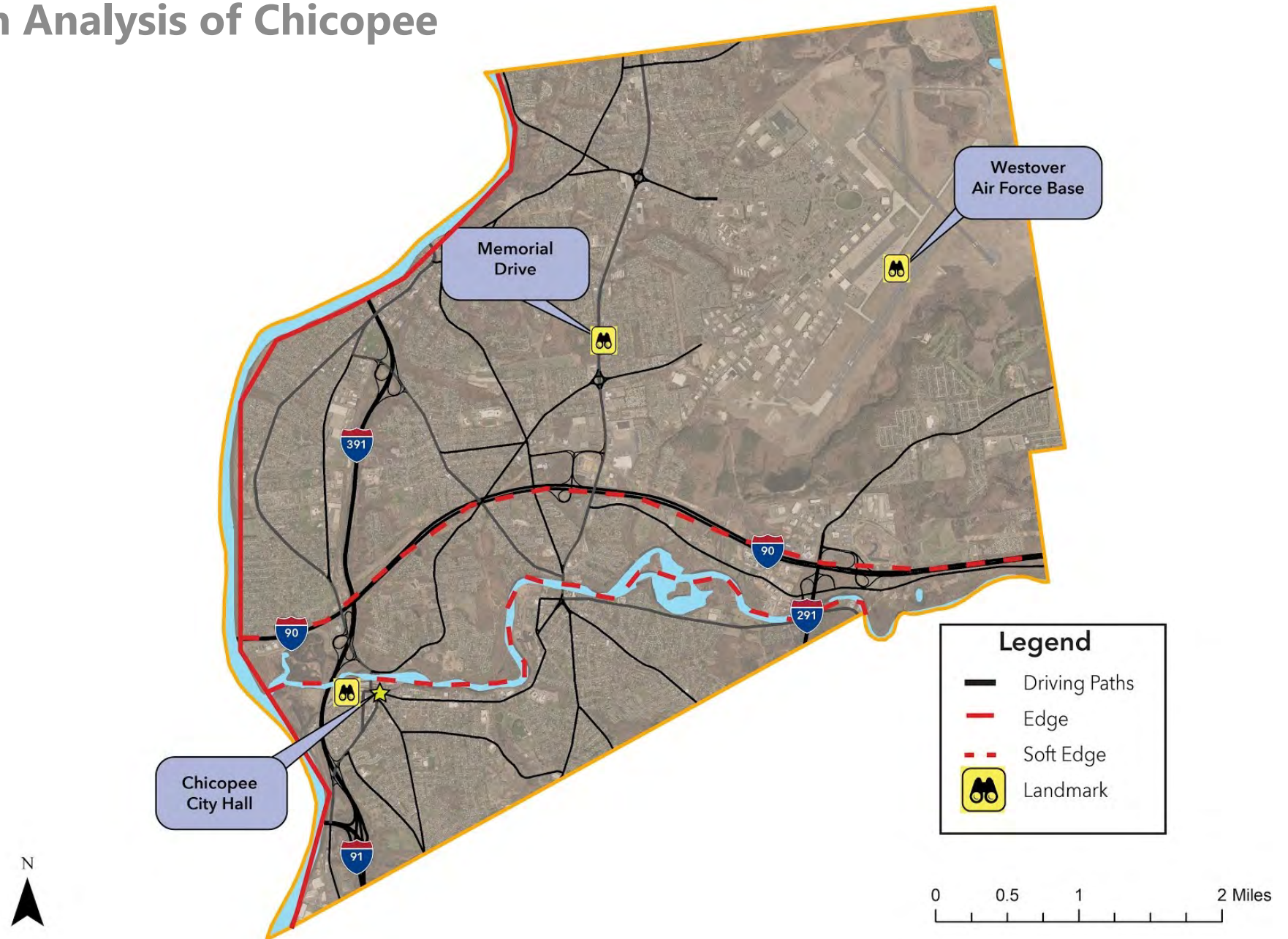


Figure 2.36: City-wide Lynch Analysis, focusing on paths, edges, and landmarks

Edges and Paths

Within the city of Chicopee, many roads, along with natural elements, serve as both paths and edges. First, to the west, Chicopee has a well-defined edge, bordered by the Connecticut River that travels the entire length of the city. This edge can only be crossed by traveling on interstate highways (with the exception of Route 116).

Four river crossing locations exist within the city, including I-91 (south), I-90 (middle), I-391, and state Route 116 (north). Similarly, the Chicopee River, which travels east to west, splits the city into a north and south section and serves as a hard and soft edge.

There are only four bridges across the Chicopee River, including Springfield Street (west), Memorial Drive (middle), American Legion Memorial Bridge, and I-291 (east). Finally, route I-90 serves as both a path and an edge. This toll road has only two access points throughout Chicopee.

Landmarks

While the majority of Chicopee's landmarks are on a smaller scale, broad landmarks within the city include the City Hall area in Chicopee Center, the Memorial Drive shopping area, as well as the Westover Air Force Base area.

Summary

Looking at Chicopee's location within the region sheds lights on both advantages and disadvantages facing the city. In terms of advantages, Chicopee is located in close

proximity to surrounding economic and cultural centers and abundant transportation networks connect Chicopee with Holyoke and Springfield, other major cities in the region. In terms of disadvantages, there are a relative lack of tourist attractions within the city that draw visitors from outside the area; in general, the majority of major landmarks are located outside of Chicopee.

Lynch Analysis of the West End

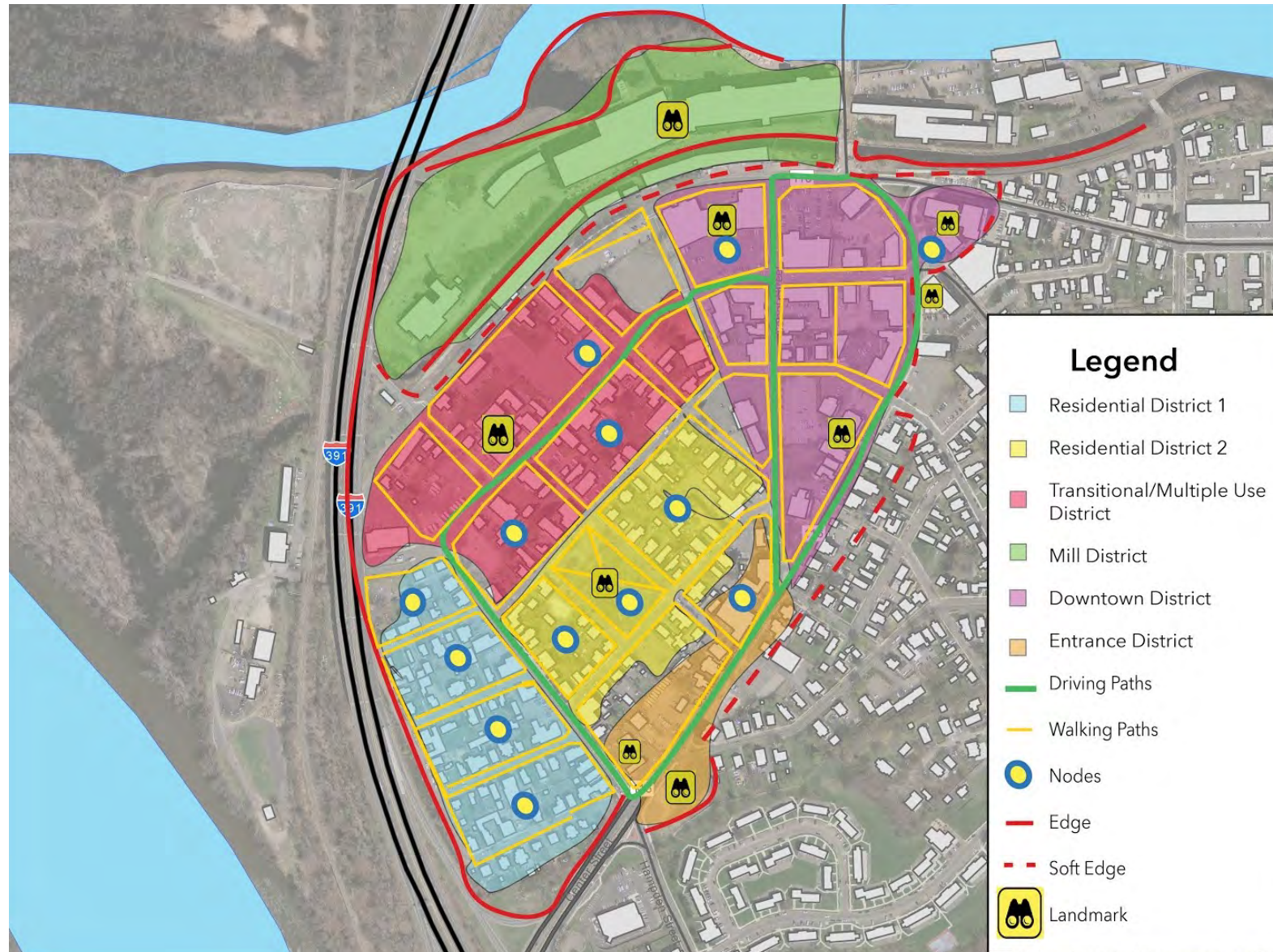


Figure 2.37: Comprehensive Lynch analysis of the West End

Conducting a Lynch analysis of the West End on the neighborhood scale illustrates more specific challenges and opportunities in the West End neighborhood. The scale for this Lynch analysis uses a scale best described as a combination of biking and walking. For example, while traveling between districts is a short walk, traveling across numerous districts within this study area would be most efficient by bike.

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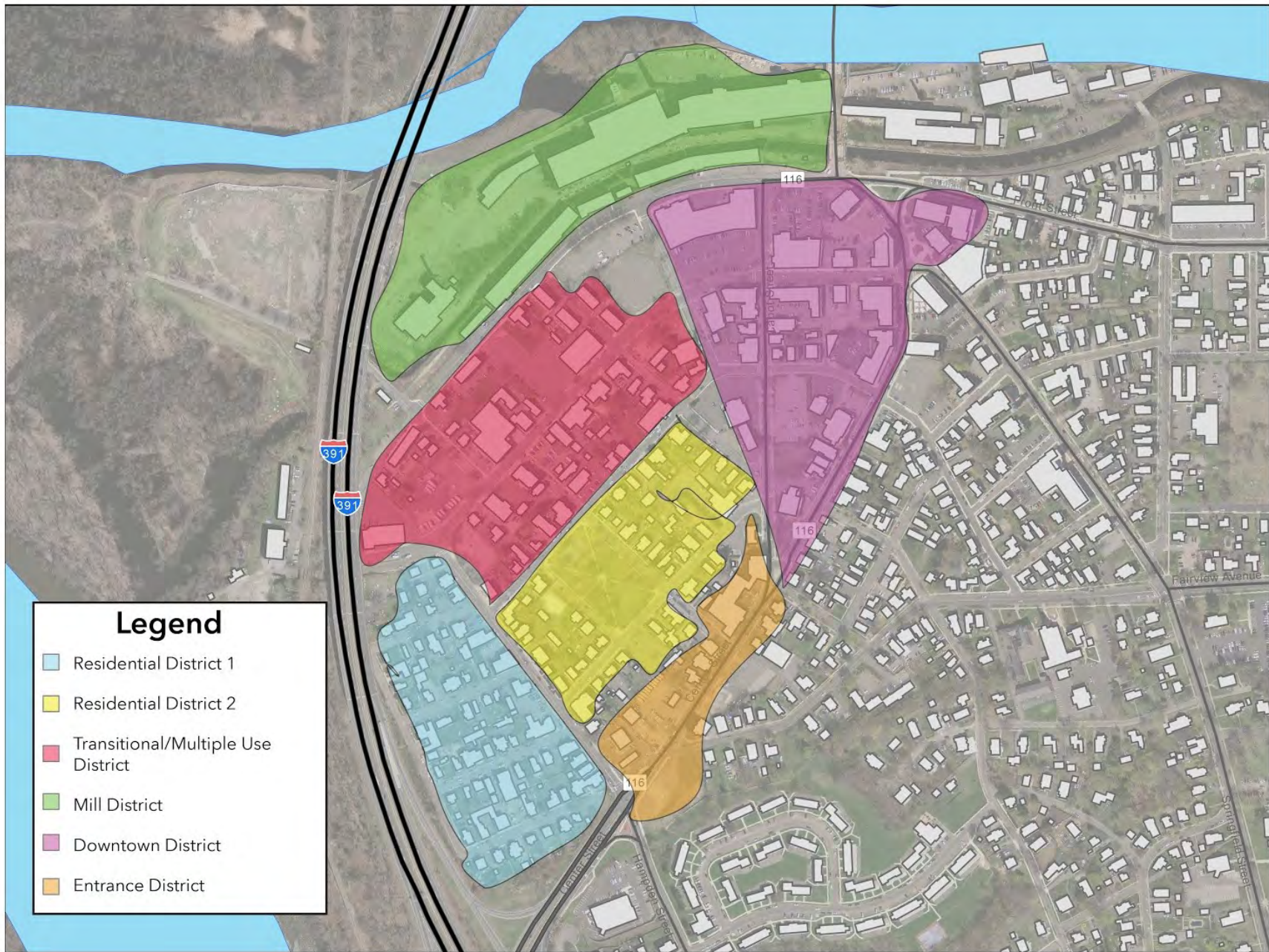


Figure 2.38: Chicopee district analysis of the West End

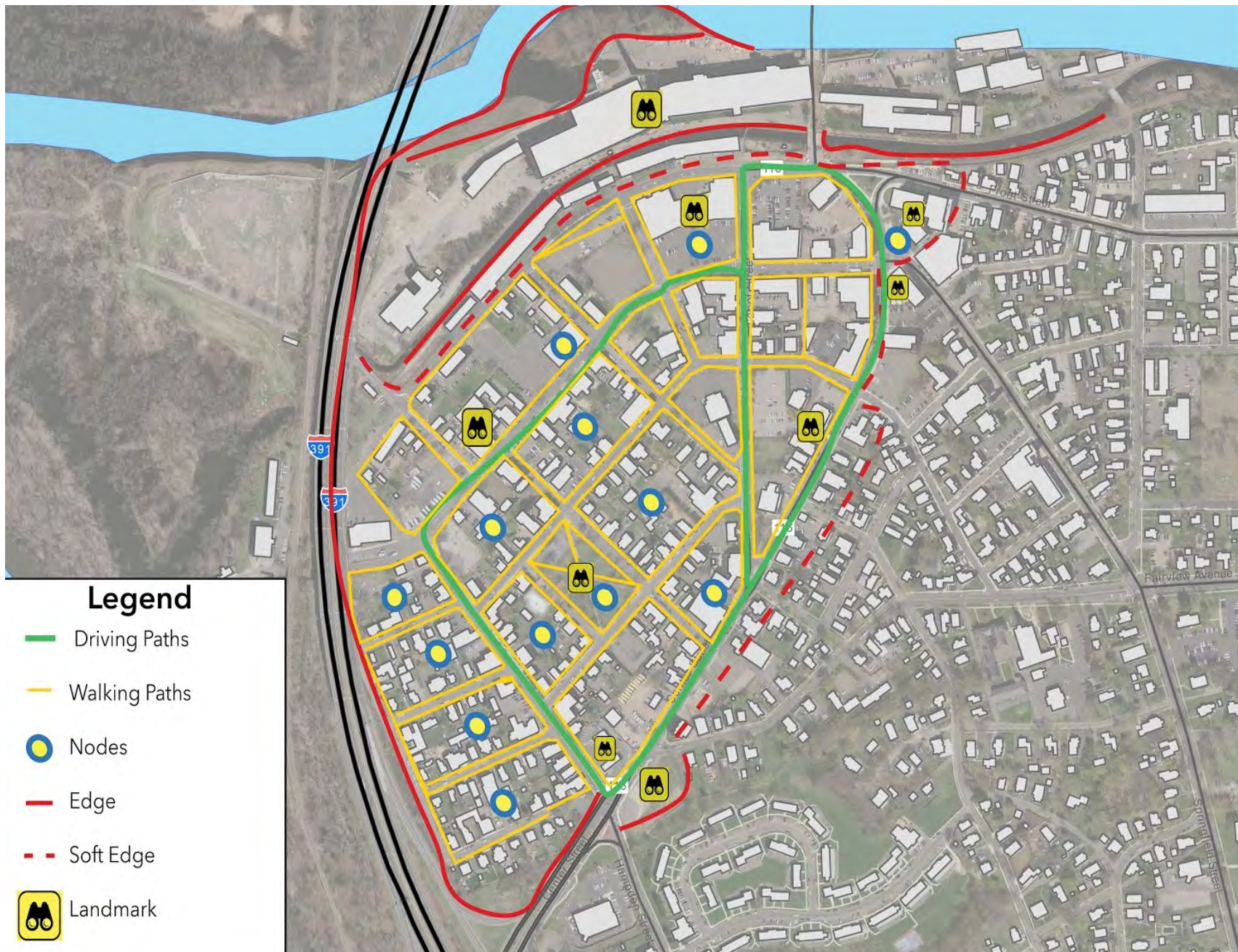


Figure 2.39: Lynch analysis of the West End, focusing on path, nodes, edges and landmarks

Districts

Focusing on the neighborhood scale, a variety of districts are present within the West End, each characterized by unique housing types and characteristics. The first district is Residential District 1, which is tucked between the elevated Interstate 391 and West Street. This area is characterized by high-density residential homes and is secluded from the other areas of the neighborhood.

Next, Residential District 2 is within the core of the West End neighborhood. The district includes Wisniowski Park, which is surrounded by residential housing.

Third, the Transitional District connects Residential District 1 and Residential District 2 to the Downtown District, consisting of a wide variety of residential, commercial and industrial uses mixed throughout the downtown. The Downtown District includes the governmental center of Chicopee. The area is characterized by relatively high-density structures. The area has seen recent investment in its streetscape, with newly built and well-lit sidewalks. The area is also surrounded by a circular, one-direction road network.

Finally, the Entrance District follows the narrow corridor of Center Street, connecting the downtown area to I-391. This district consists primarily of larger-lot commercial land-uses.

Edges

The West End neighborhood consist of numerous hard edges, often bounded by topography or artificial objects. Here, the Chicopee and Connecticut Rivers, I-391 and the train tracks owned by New England Central Railroad cut off the West End community from the surrounding areas and Delta Park. The eastern side is characterized by softer edges, represented as a gradual shift of land-uses up the hill towards the Elms College neighborhood. While the transitional boundary is not instantaneous, there is a distinct difference in residential lot size, land-use, and block length as one moves east away from Chicopee Center.

Paths

Paths in the West End neighborhood are often difficult to navigate. Green lines on the map highlight the primary driving network of the neighborhood, which is a two-lane, one-directional street circling the downtown core. Pedestrian routes are much shorter and seem to only exist within each identified district. In other words, while one could technically walk to the Downtown District from Residential District 1, CCP did not observe long-distance foot traffic during site visits.

Nodes and Landmarks

Nodes and Landmarks within the community often overlap, with a few exceptions. First, many of the nodes

CCP has identified are on private land, as residents (particularly of Residential District 1) seem to hang out within the comfort of their own street. Other notable nodes include the Portuguese American Club, the sidewalk outside the old library, and the space outside of the Family Dollar. Notable landmarks of the area also include both public and private spaces, such as the Cabotville Mills, the Munich House, Wisniowski Park, Collegian Court, and the Shell Gas Station.

Conclusion

Evaluating Chicopee's West End neighborhood through a Lynch analysis highlights some of the strengths and challenges that the neighborhood is currently facing. For example, while one of the City's major advantages is that it is connected by an abundance of transportation options to other major cities in the region, one of its disadvantages is that it is not home to major regional landmarks. With districts representing patterns of use, numerous hard edges, private nodes, landmarks, and paths, Chicopee's West End neighborhood is a unique community tucked within the downtown core of an industrial gateway city.

West End Business Inventory

Overview

In order to better understand existing business assets and service needs in the West End neighborhood, CCP created an inventory of businesses that are currently located in the neighborhood. CCP collected information on existing businesses in the West End neighborhood based on site visits and information gathered from Google Maps. In total, CCP collected information from 68 businesses in the West End neighborhood. Appendix A.1 presents a detailed list of all of the businesses in the West End neighborhood.

Goals

CCP conducted a business inventory of the West End neighborhood in order to answer two primary questions including:

1. What is the current business mix in the West End neighborhood?
2. Are businesses located in the West End neighborhood likely to foster vibrancy both during the day and in the evening?

CCP asked the first question in order to understand the extent to which existing businesses in the West End neighborhood are meeting the service needs of the

neighborhood's residents. CCP asked the second question in order to understand whether existing businesses foster activity in the evening. Examining whether a business is open past 6:00 PM is one indicator of whether the business is likely to foster activity in the evening. A lack of evening hours may limit accessibility for those who work during normal business hours and only have time to shop during the evening.

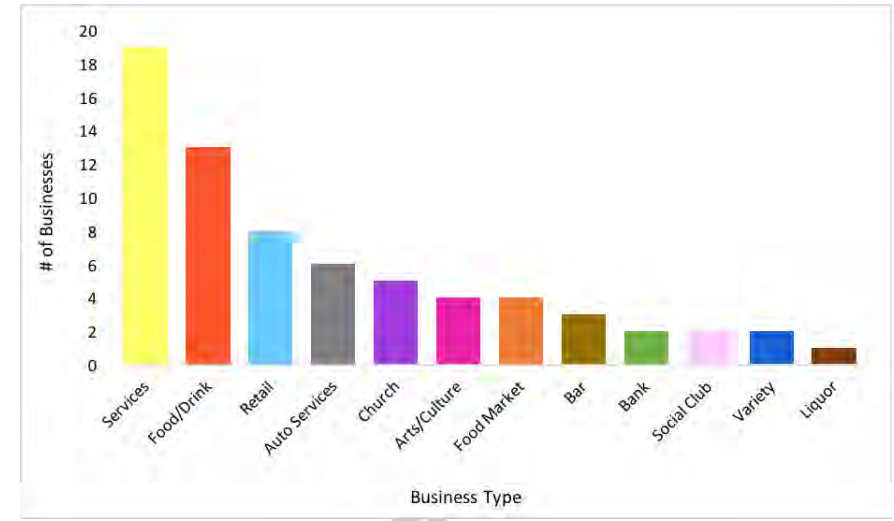


Figure 2.40: Business types in the West End

The majority of businesses in the West End neighborhood are service businesses. Common types of service businesses include beauty salons, barber shops, cell phone service shops, laundromats, and financial service businesses. The second most common type of business in the West End neighborhood are businesses serving food and drinks, including restaurants, bakeries, and a cafe. The third most common type of business in the West End neighborhood are retail businesses, including a jewelry store, a hardware store, a used appliance store, and a video game store. There are also a notable number of auto service businesses and storefront churches in the West End neighborhood.

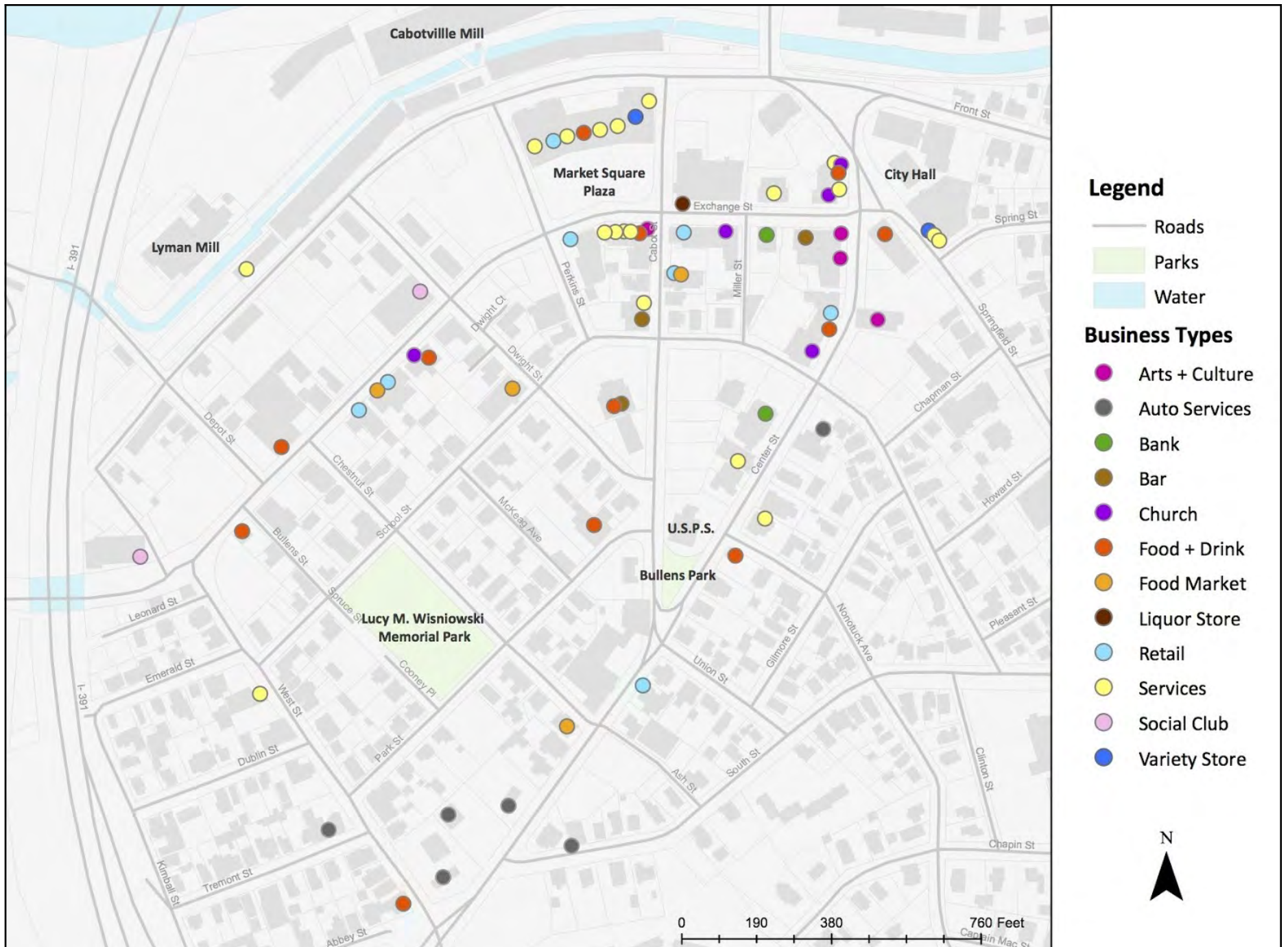


Figure 2.41: Business inventory map

Figure 2.41 shows the spatial distribution of different business types throughout the West End neighborhood. Aside from several auto service businesses located in the neighborhood's southwest corner, the businesses types are quite mixed throughout the downtown, without any major clustering.

A notable finding from this assessment is that there are very few arts and culture businesses in the West End neighborhood. The four arts and culture businesses currently located in the West End neighborhood consist of two dance studios, a martial arts school, and an art studio. Stern and Seifert (2010) found that the agglomeration of arts and culture businesses and organizations correlates with higher neighborhood satisfaction, increased cross-participation in neighborhood events and participation in local government. Therefore, the city of Chicopee should seek to increase the number of arts and culture providers in the neighborhood to realize potential benefits for both its economy and to increase the quality of life for its residents.

Another major finding from this analysis was that although there are four small food markets (two delis and two smaller food stores) in the neighborhood, there is not a larger grocery store in the West End. This finding suggests that there might be a need for a grocery store in the neighborhood to increase access to fresh food, especially for those living in the neighborhood who do not own a car and must either walk or take public transportation to

purchase groceries.

Business Hours

The second component of this analysis assessed whether businesses in the West End are open past 6:00 PM in order to understand how many businesses in the neighborhood are likely to foster activity in the evening. Figure 2.42 shows that over half of West End businesses



(about 56%, or 38/68) are not open past 6:00 PM.

Figure 2.42: Business hours of operations

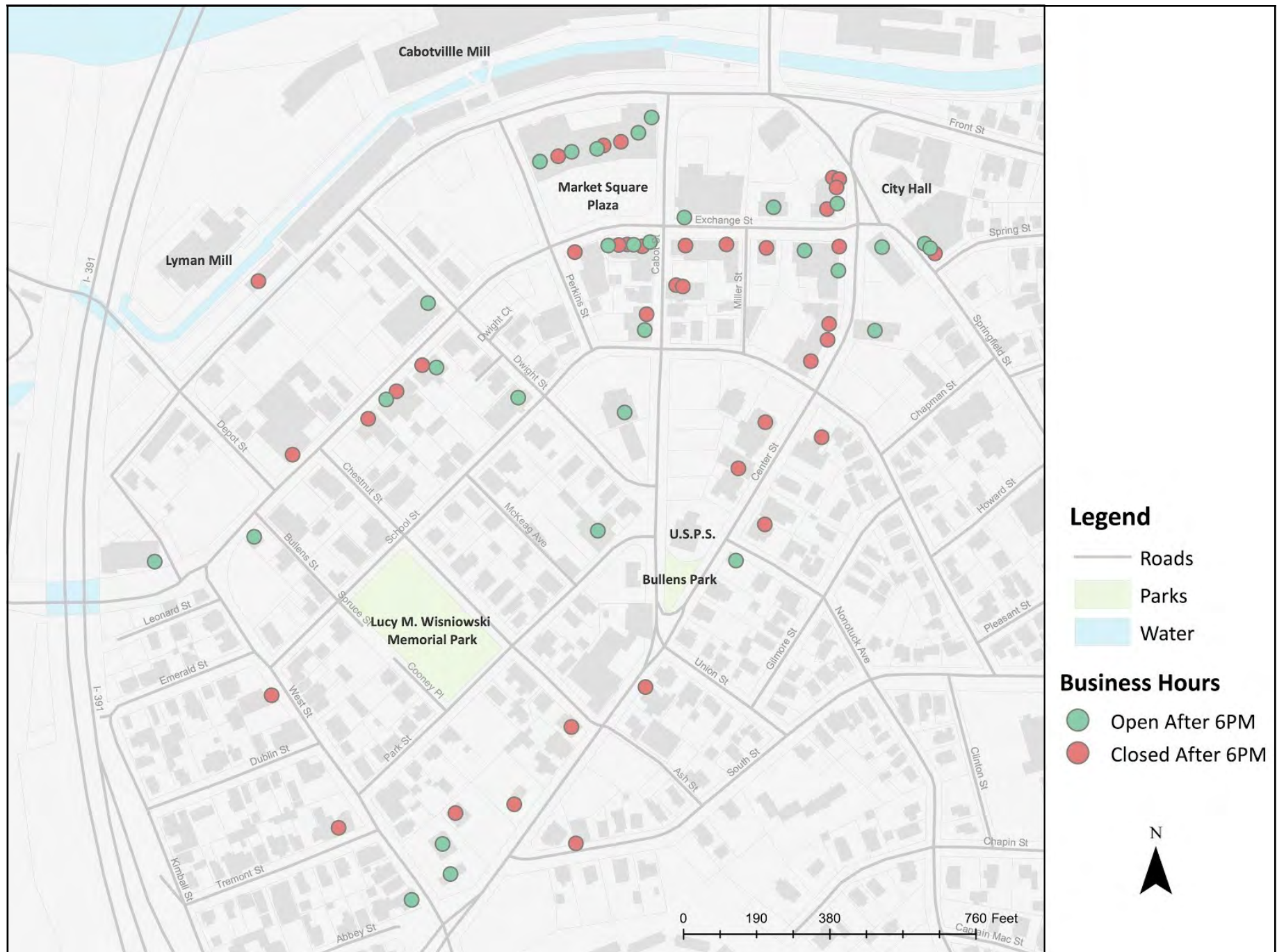


Figure 2.43: Business inventory map with business hours of operation

Examining the spatial distribution of businesses closed after 6:00 PM allows us to see areas in the West End that are likely to be less active as night. One area that does not have many businesses open past 6:00 PM is Center Street. Of the 25 businesses located along Center Street, less than a third (8) are open past 6:00 PM. This trend suggests that this street—a primary gateway into the West End—is likely not vibrant in the evening.

Conclusion

The main findings from this business inventory indicate that there is not an even mix of businesses currently located in the West End neighborhood. The majority of businesses located in the West End neighborhood support service needs and there are few retailers in the West End neighborhood that sell fresh, healthy food. Findings from this analysis have also indicated that there are certain sections of the West End neighborhood, such as Center Street, that do not have many businesses open after 6 PM, posing potential safety issues and downtown vibrancy challenges in this area.



Chapter 3: Community and Housing Demographics

Introduction

The West End, while the governmental center of the city, has a many differences in population and housing demographics than the surrounding areas of Chicopee. Identifying and understanding demographic trends such as population, age, educational attainment, ethnicity can provide an initial glimpse into the culture of the neighborhood. Furthermore, identifying and understanding the housing stock within the historical context of Chicopee is essential in order to understand the strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities that might pertain to housing security as it relates to housing crises throughout the country.

This map shows how the West End neighborhood, in orange, aligns with the boundaries of Census Tract 8109.01. All census tract boundaries are shown in blue. We used census-tract level data to conduct our demographic and housing analysis.

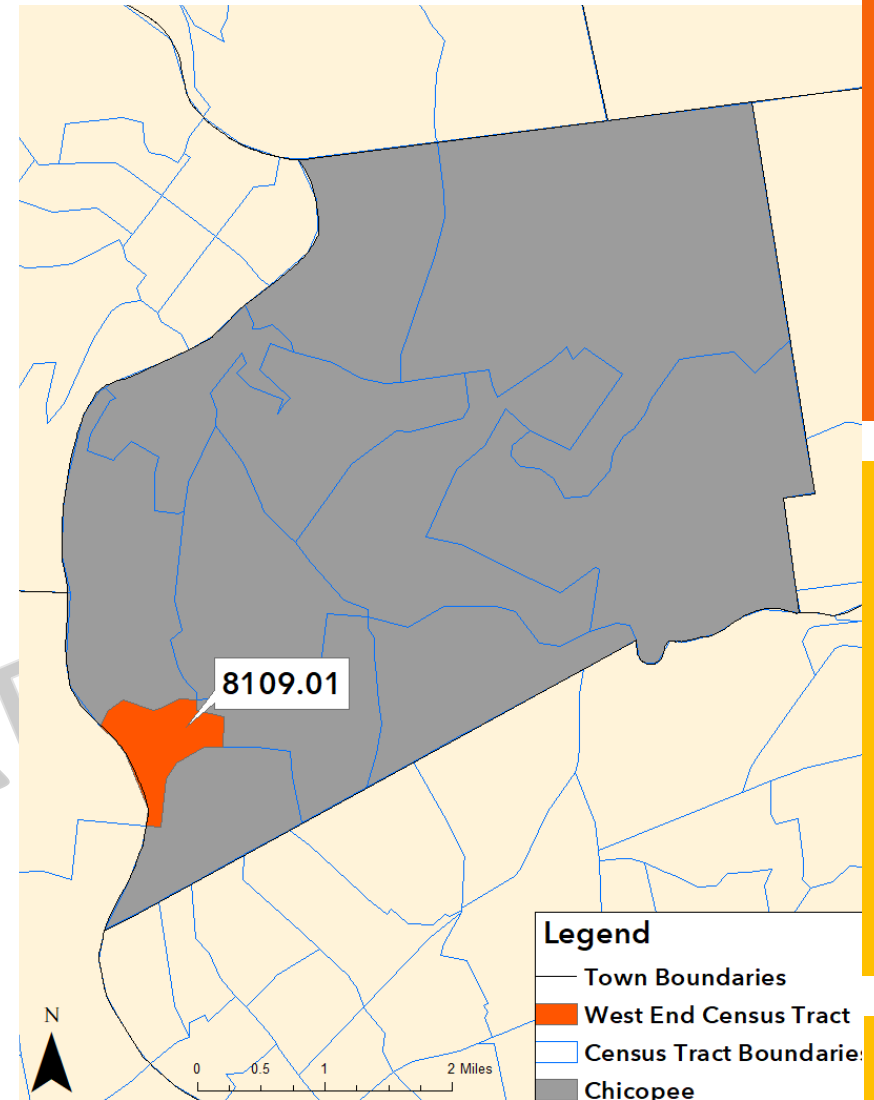
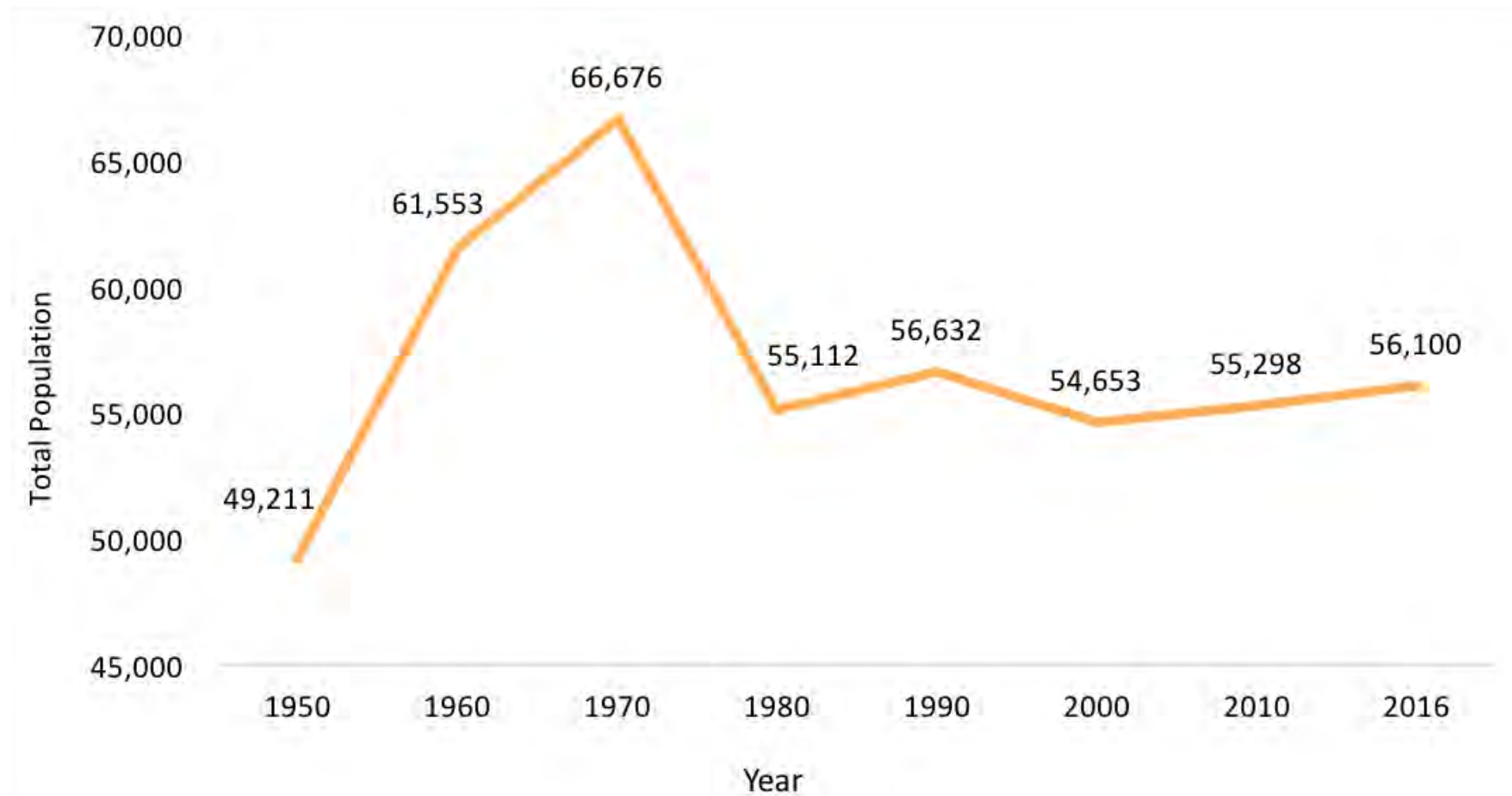


Figure 3.0: Census tract boundary

Population of Chicopee

has experienced periods of sharp growth, decline, and stability. The population of Chicopee was 49,211 in 1950, growing to a high of 66,676 in 1970. The population dropped to 55,112 in 1980 and since then has hovered



around 56,000. In 2016, the total population of Chicopee was 56,100. While the downtown core

Figure 3.1: Chicopee, Massachusetts total population (1950-2016)

Since 1950, the city of Chicopee’s total population

of Chicopee, the West End only contains 2.4% of Chicopee's residents, with an average of around 1,361 residents according to the 2016 ACS 5-year estimates.

The growth, decline, and stability evident in Figure 1 illustrates the trends discussed in the History section of this Chapter. From the post-war period through the 1970s, the city experienced a period of population growth as manufacturing jobs at the Cabotville and Lyman mills attracted thousands of new residents. The population then experienced population loss as a result of the closure of the mills, and has since maintained this smaller population.

Comparing the population over time in Chicopee compared to Springfield and Hampden County, we can see that the population cycles in Chicopee and Springfield are quite similar, and somewhat similar to that of Hampden County. Chicopee's population peaked slightly later (1970) than Springfield's (1960). Since then, both cities experienced a decline in their population, followed by relative stability. Though Hampden County experienced a peak in its population in 1970 at 459,050 persons, followed by a temporary decline in its population, it is now growing steadily and in 2016 had a total of 469,818 residents.

These population trends indicate that Springfield and Chicopee have experienced growth, decline, and consistency in similar cycles, suggesting the two cities have shared specific factors that have affected the size of their populations over time, such as immigration, emigration, and

job availability. However, since Hampden County's population grew at a more rapid rate than Chicopee and Springfield from 1950 to 1970, and has grown in recent years, Hampden County's overall population trends are evidently less closely tied to that of Chicopee and Springfield. Thus, population growth rates in other Hampden County cities and towns have significantly exceeded that of Chicopee and Springfield.

Population of Chicopee, Springfield, and Hampden County

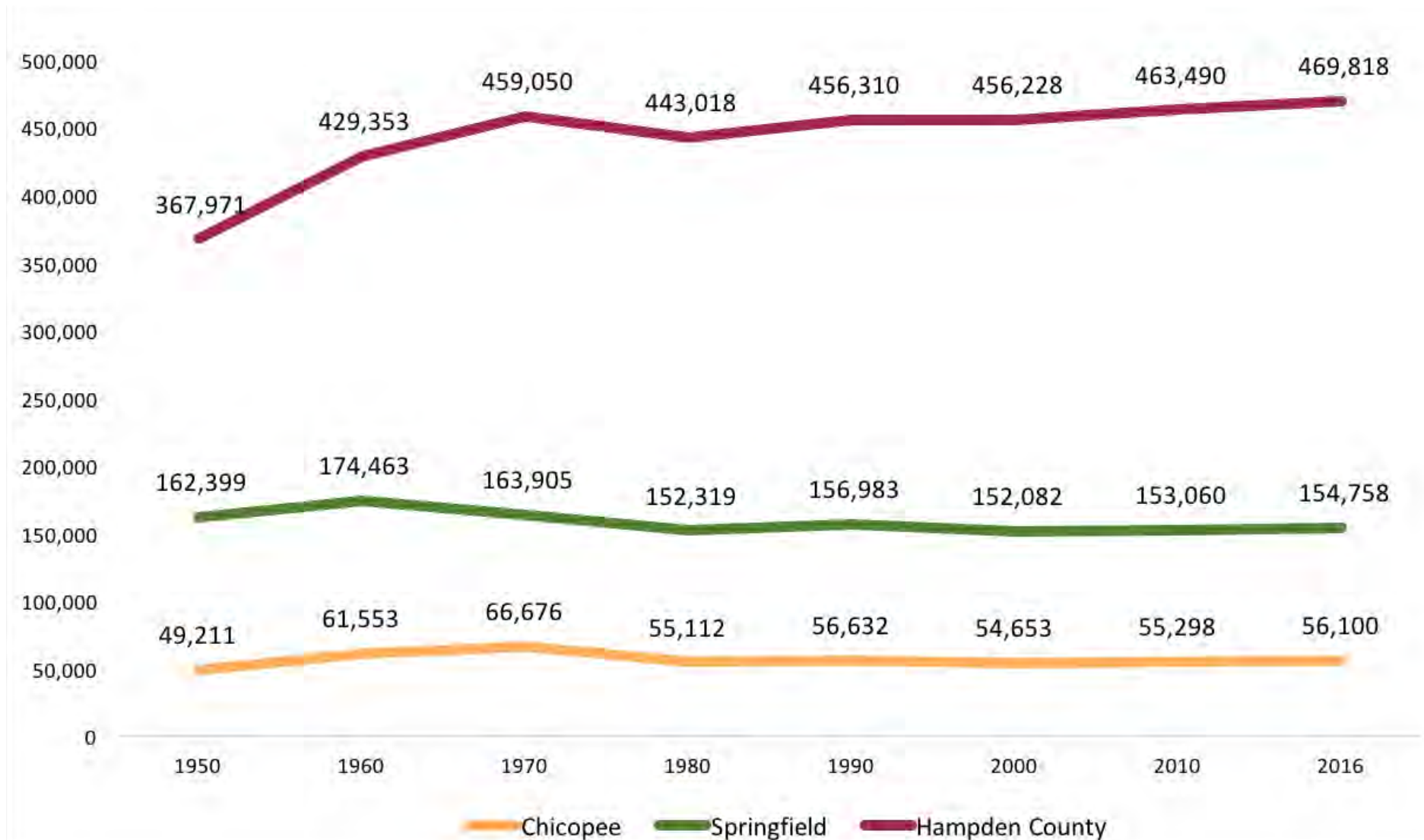


Figure 3.2: Population in Chicopee, Massachusetts; Springfield, Massachusetts; and Hampden County, Massachusetts (1950-2016)

Age Distribution of the West End Over Time

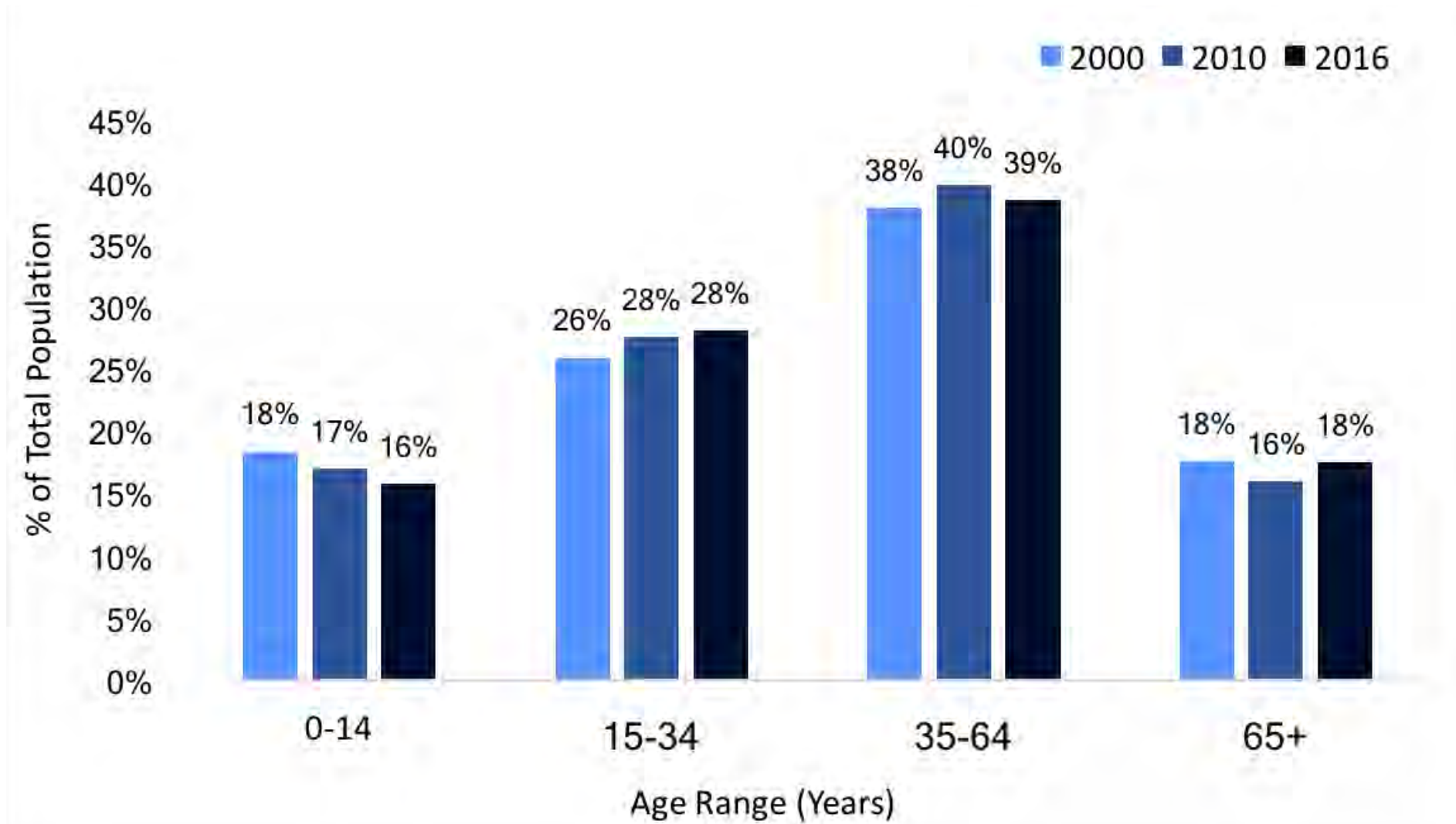


Figure 3.3: Age distribution of the West End over time (2000-2016)

Examining the age distribution of West End residents over the past 16 years illustrates how the age of West End residents has changed over time. The two age groups that demonstrate clear trends are 0 to 14 years and 15 to 34 years. The 0 to 14 age group has decreased its relative share of the total population over time, dropping from 18% of the total population in 2000 to 16% in 2016. The 15 to 34 age group has also increase over time, starting at 26% in 2000 to 28% in 2016.

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Age Distribution of the West End and Chicopee

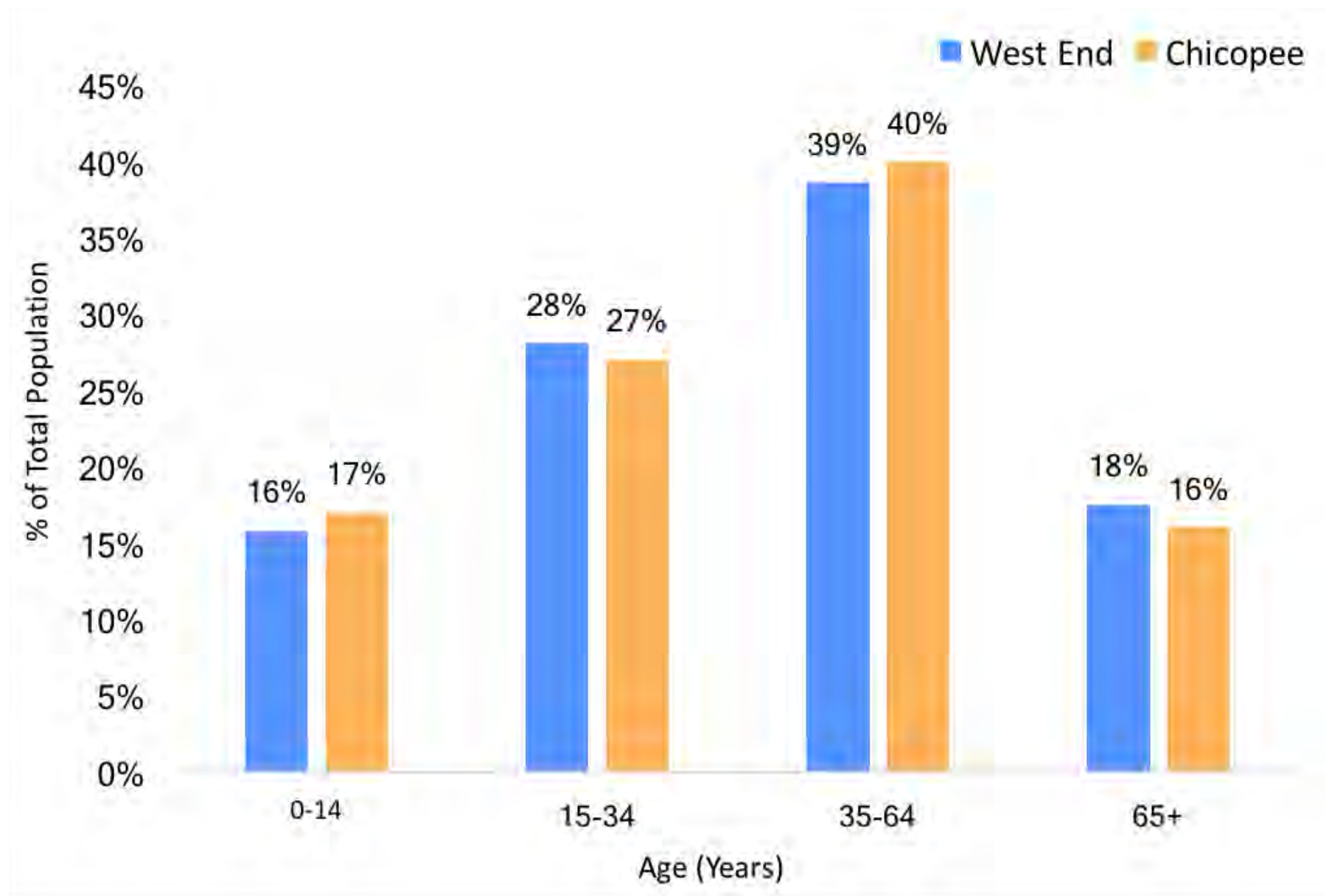


Figure 3.4: Age distribution of the West End and Chicopee

The age distribution of the West End is quite similar to that of the wider city of Chicopee. The West End has slightly fewer people under the age of 14, slightly more people who are 15-34 years old, slightly fewer people who are 35-64 years old, and slightly more people who are 65 or over. While the two neighborhoods differ across many measures, the distribution of age is not one of them.

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Race and Ethnicity of the West End and Chicopee

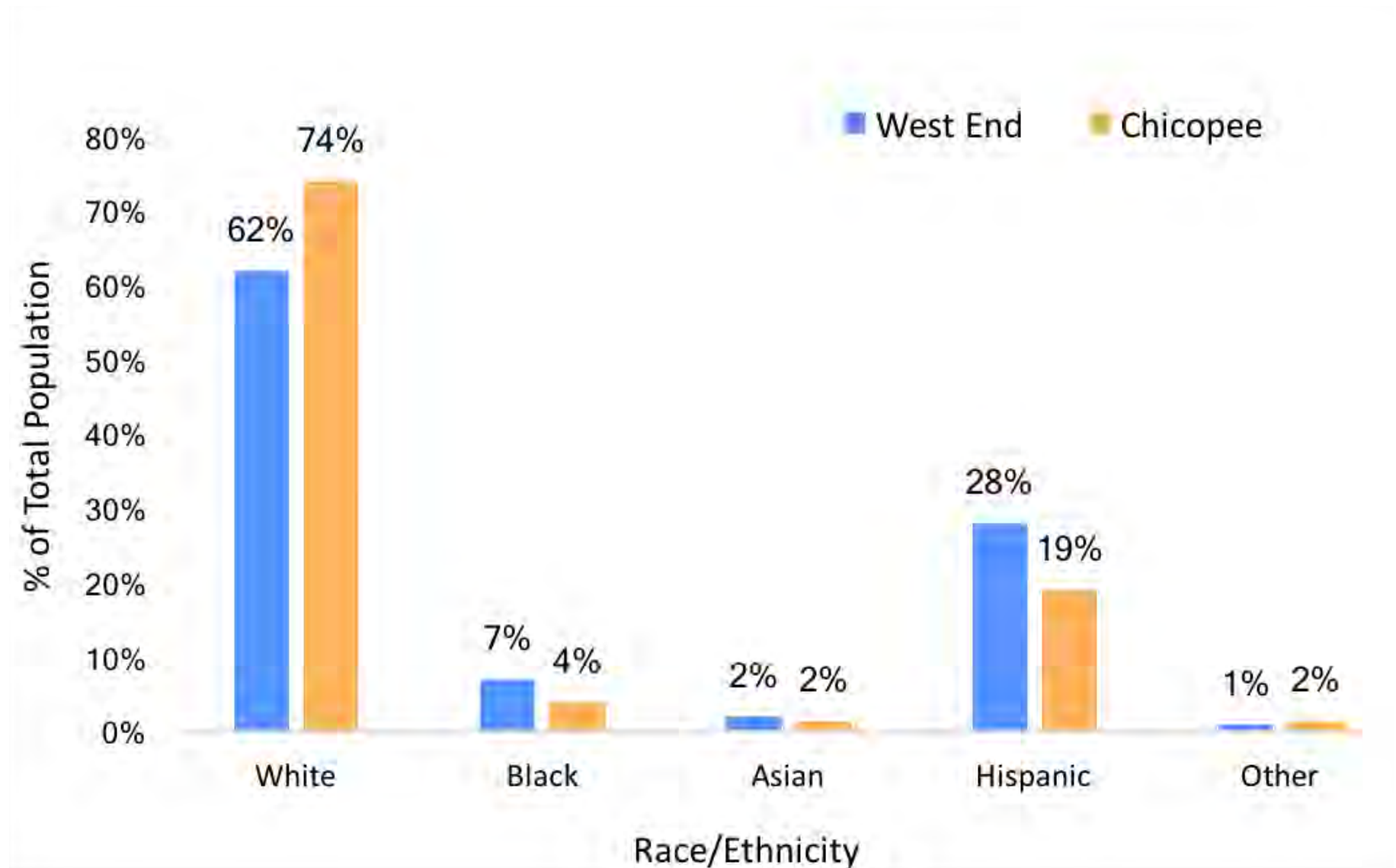


Figure 3.5: Race and ethnicity composition in the West End and Chicopee (2016)

West End neighborhood is relatively more diverse compared to the city of Chicopee. According to the U.S. Census Bureau's 2016 5-year estimates, 62% of residents in the West End neighborhood are white, compared to nearly three-quarters (74%) of Chicopee residents. Likewise, while roughly three in ten residents (28%) from the West End neighborhood are Hispanic or Latino, roughly one in five residents (19%) from Chicopee are Hispanic or Latino.

Therefore, in both the West End and in Chicopee, White and Hispanic or Latino residents account for the majority of residents living in the area. Together, Black residents, Asian residents, and residents identifying with another race account for less than 10% or less of the total population in both the West End and Chicopee.

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Race and Ethnicity of the West End Over Time

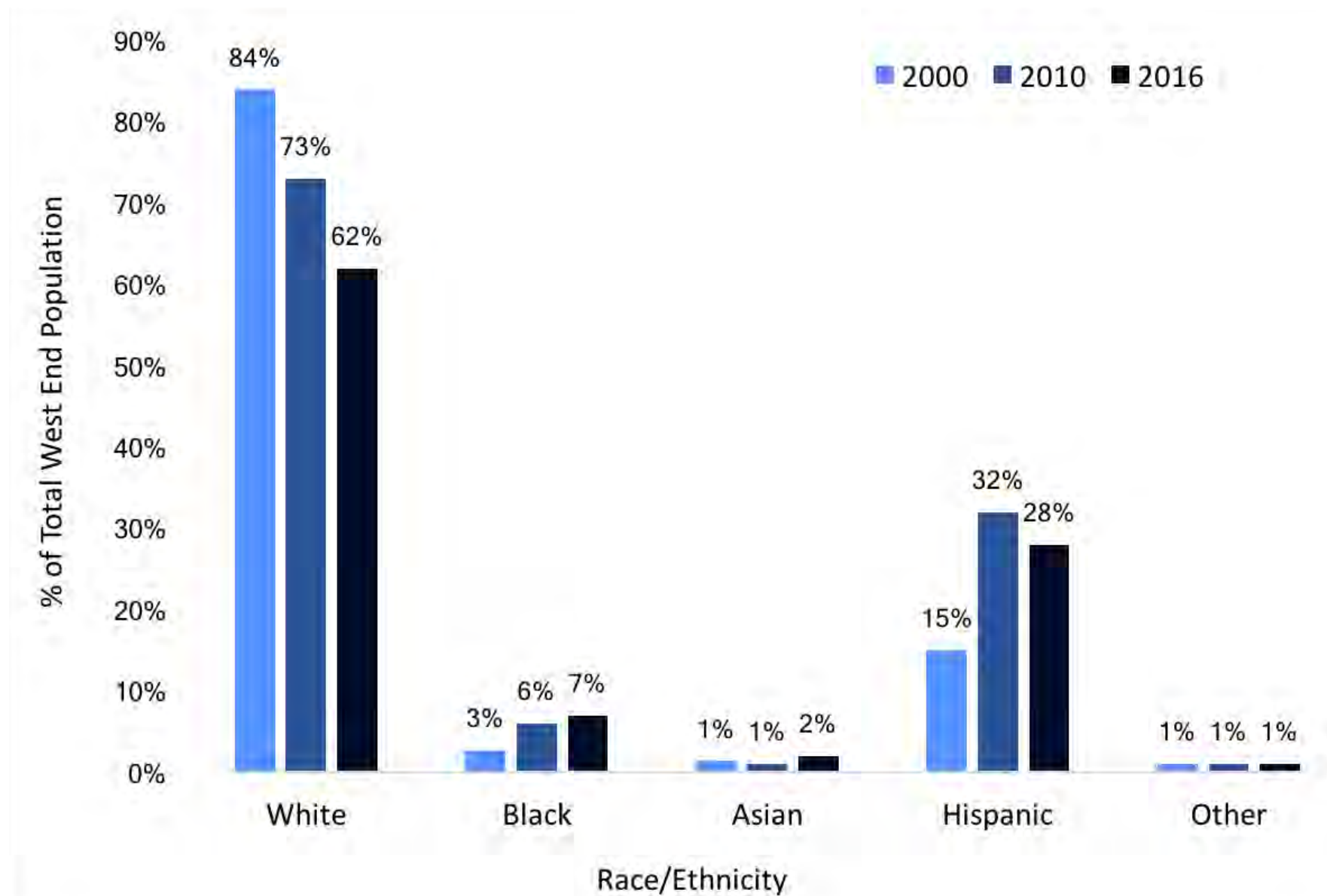


Figure 3.6: Race and ethnicity composition in the West End over time (2000-2016)

The most common race of West End residents from 2000 to 2016 is white. However, this percentage has decreased consistently over time, from 84% in 2000 to 62% in 2016. The percent of black residents has increased over time, from just 3% of the population 2000, to 6% in 2010 and 7% in 2016. The Hispanic population of the West End has grown significantly over time, from 15% in 2000, to 19% in 2010, and 28% in 2016.

Examining the race and ethnicity composition of the West End neighborhood over time reveals that it has become a more ethnically diverse neighborhood over the past 16 years. Specifically, as the white population has decreased, the Hispanic population has increased at a similar rate.

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Household Income in the West End, Chicopee, and Massachusetts

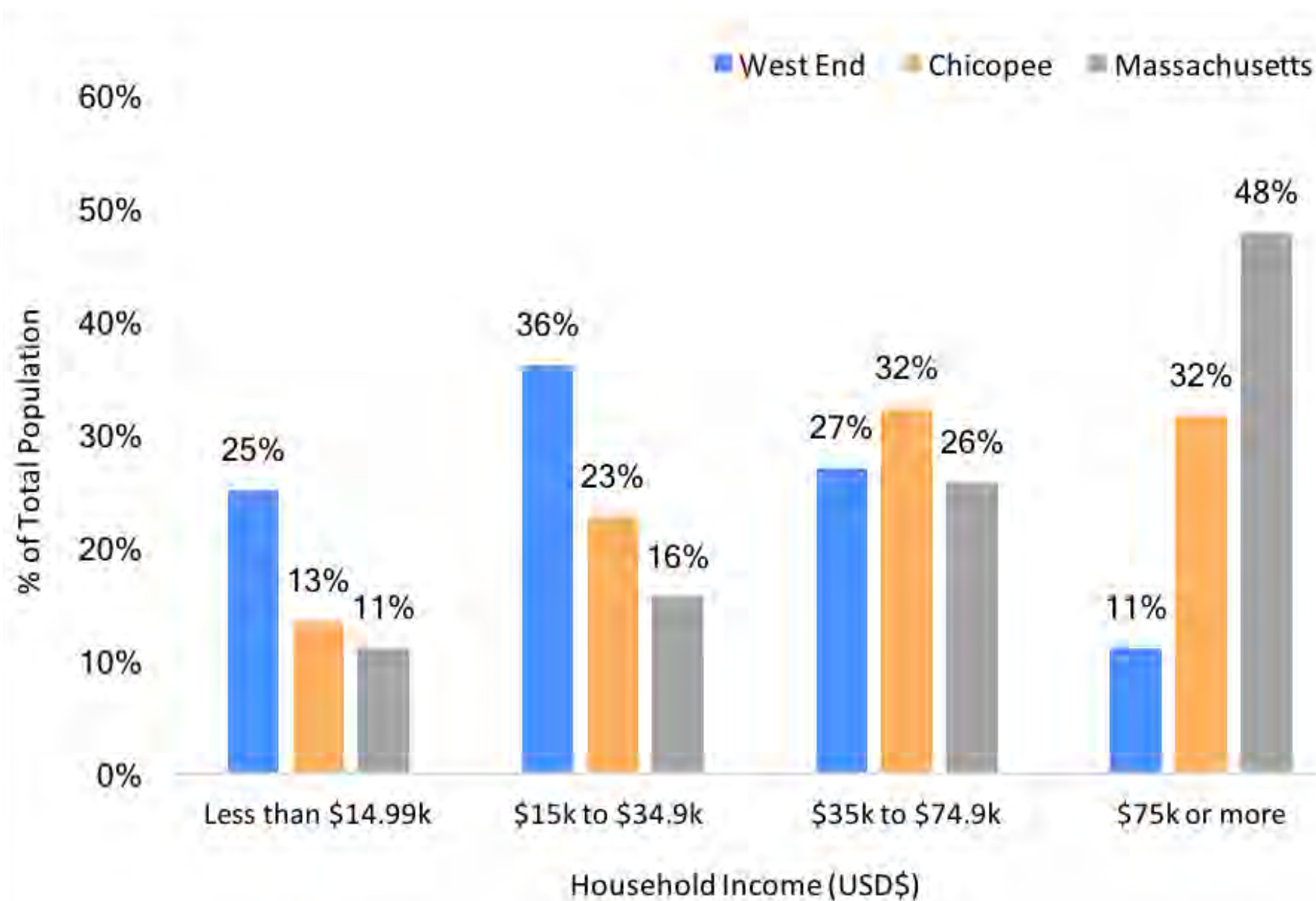


Figure 3.7: Household income distribution in the West End, Chicopee, and Massachusetts (2016)

In 2016, the median household income in the West End was \$26,518, almost half of the citywide median household income of \$49,005. The median household income in Massachusetts was \$70,954 in 2016.

The most common income range for West End residents is between \$15,000 and \$34,999 per year, which represents 36% of total housing units. The least prevalent group is the \$75,000 or more range, which only applies to 11% of total housing units. Notably, one in four households (25%) make less than 25% per year. The majority of people living in the West End (61%) make less than \$35,000 per year.

These figures show that the average resident of the West End make less than the average resident from the rest of Chicopee, and significantly less than the state overall. This data helps cement the West End as a working-class community that could potentially benefit from new employers with higher paying wages setting up shop in the community. This new development would need to go hand in hand with opportunity for higher education and job training programs.

Educational Attainment in the West End, Chicopee, and Massachusetts

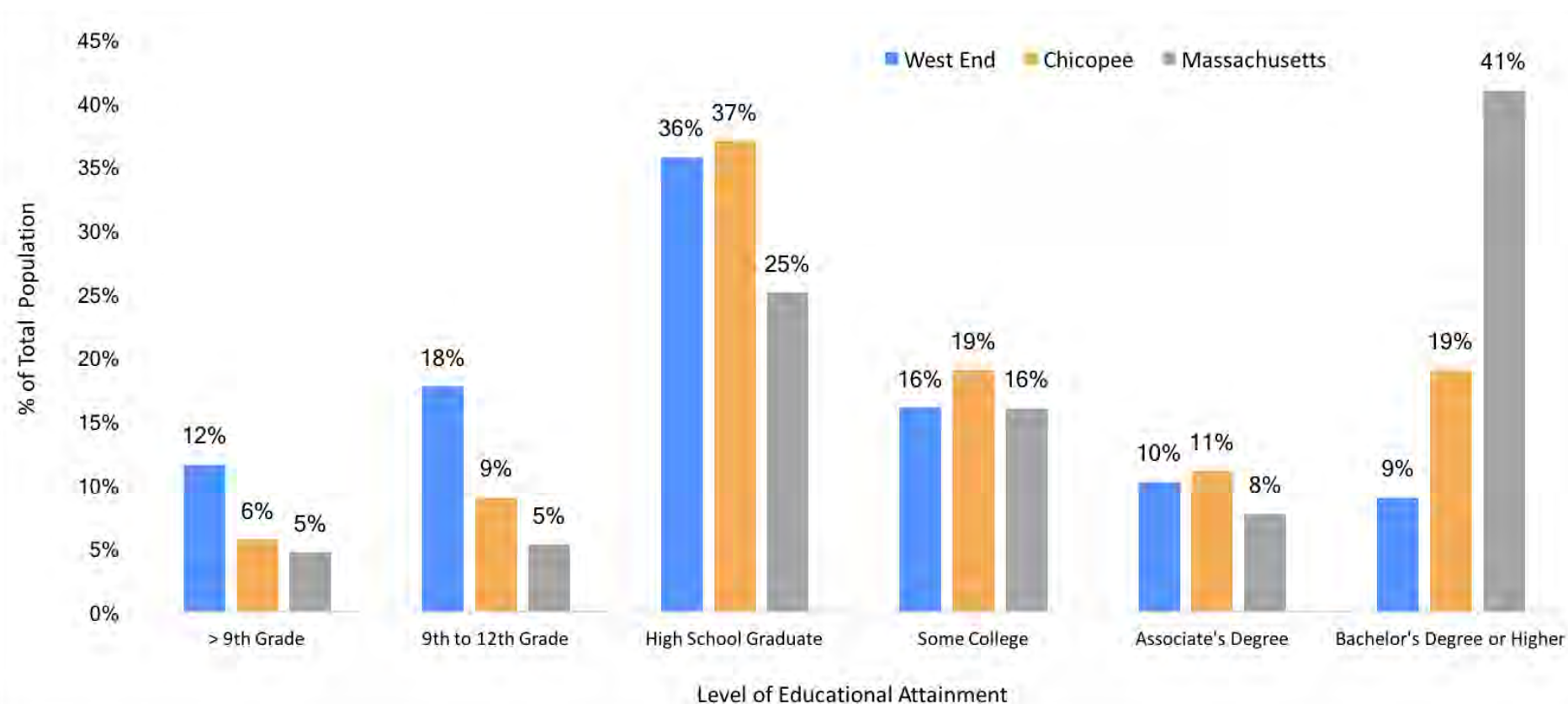


Figure 3.8: Educational attainment in the West End, Chicopee, and Massachusetts (2016)

The most common level of educational attainment in the West End neighborhood (36%) is a high school degree. This is similar to Chicopee's percentage of the population with a high school degree (37%). 29% of West End residents have less than a 12th grade level of education. In addition, one in ten residents (10%) of the West End neighborhood have an associate's degree, which is roughly the same as the city of Chicopee (11%) and slightly higher than Massachusetts (8%). The percentage of individuals with a bachelor's degree of higher in the West End is lower than both Chicopee (18%) and Massachusetts (41%).

Overall, educational attainment in the West End neighborhood is lower than in Chicopee and Massachusetts. These trends indicate that West End neighborhood residents might benefit from workforce development or other educational training in order to prepare to enter occupations that require a high school degree or higher. As this analysis indicates, residents from Chicopee and Massachusetts have higher percentages of individuals with a bachelor degree or higher, which could place West End residents at comparative disadvantage in the regional labor market.

Employment Occupations in the West End

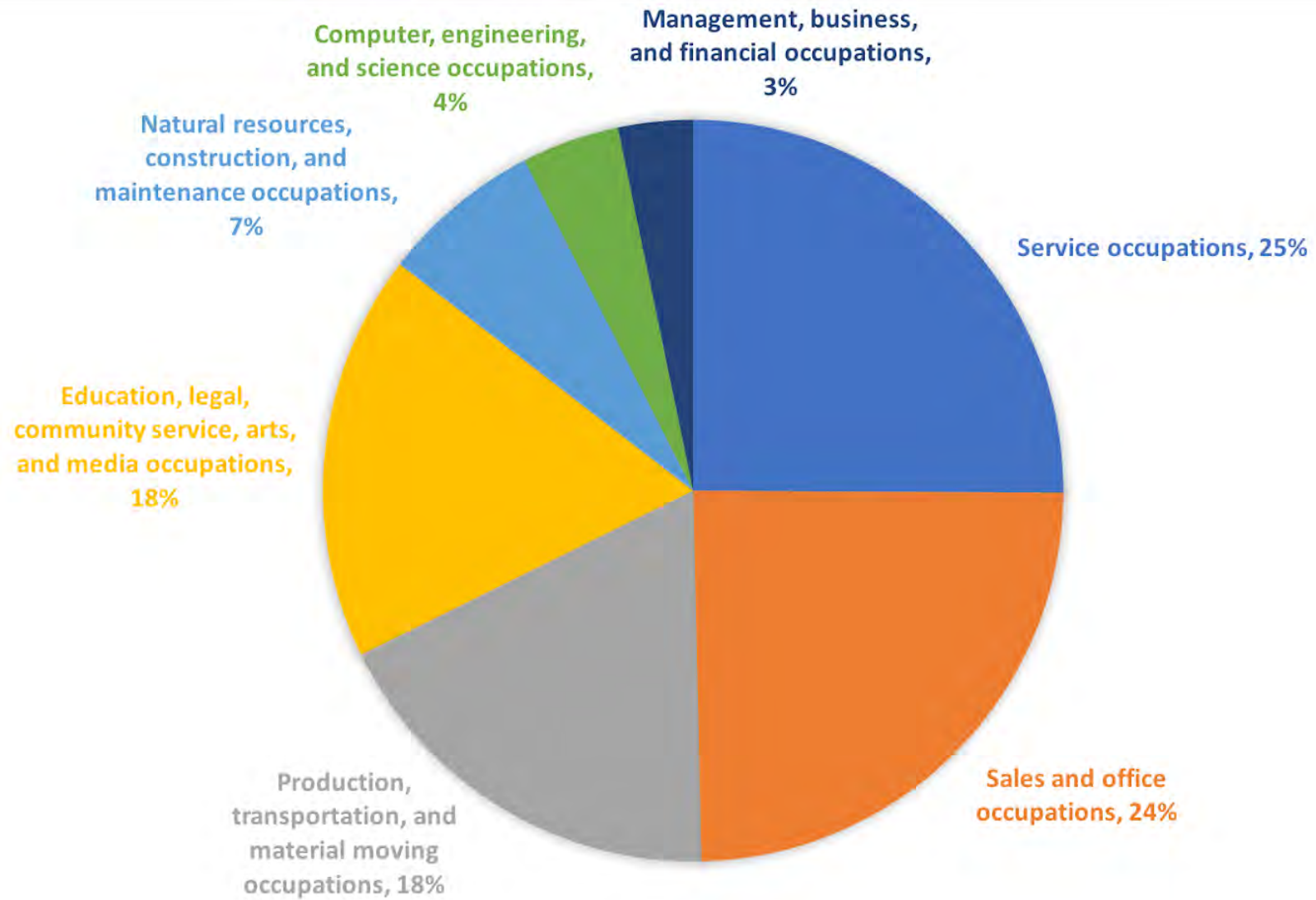


Figure 3.9: Employment occupations in the West End (2016)

The majority of residents living in the West End work in service occupations (25%), closely followed by sales and office occupations (24%). 18% of people living in the West End work in jobs in education, legal, community service, arts and media, and another 18% work in production, transportation, and material moving. Less common types of employment in the West End are: natural resources, construction, and maintenance occupations (7%); computer, engineering, and science occupations (4%); and management, business and financial occupations (3%). The unemployment rate in the West End was 13.8% in 2017.

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Employment Occupations in the West End Over Time

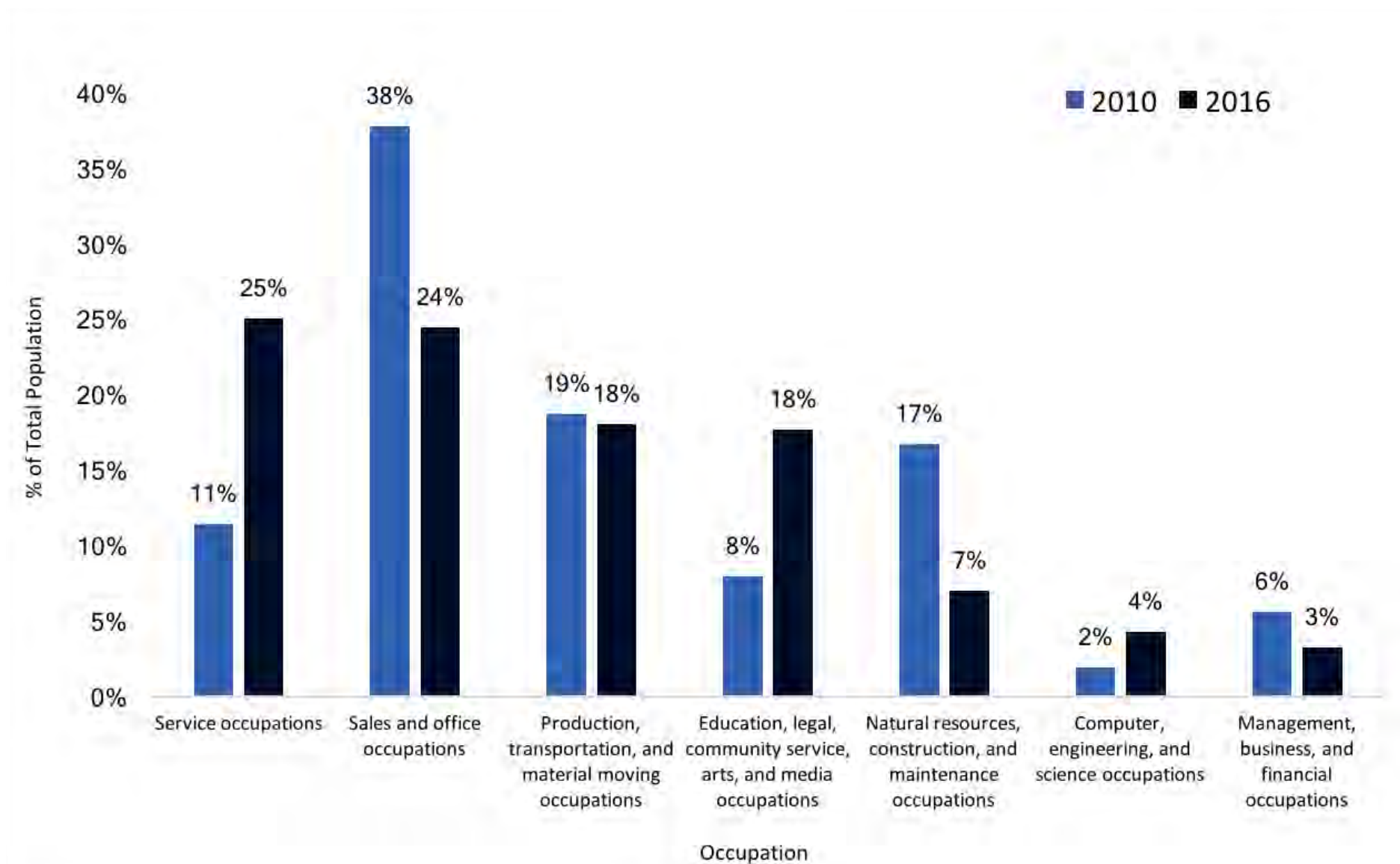


Figure 3.10: Employment occupations in the West End over time (2010-2016)

This figure shows that in just the past six years, the share of people living in the West End employed in service occupations has increased from 11% to 25%. The share of people working in sales and office jobs in the West End has decreased in the past 6 years, from 38% to 24%. Education, legal, community service, arts and media occupations have increased their share of employment, from 8% to 18%, since 2010. Employment in natural resources, construction, and maintenance occupations has decreased from 17% to 7% since 2010.

These trends are important to understand because they indicate the types of employment, and thus, pay levels and lifestyle of people living in the West End. For example, the share of people employed in service jobs has increased since 2016. Since service jobs are usually low-paying with few opportunities for upward mobility, this may explain why the majority of households in the West End have an income of less than \$35,000 per year. Service jobs also often have irregular hours compared to other jobs.

Housing Tenure in the West End, Chicopee, and

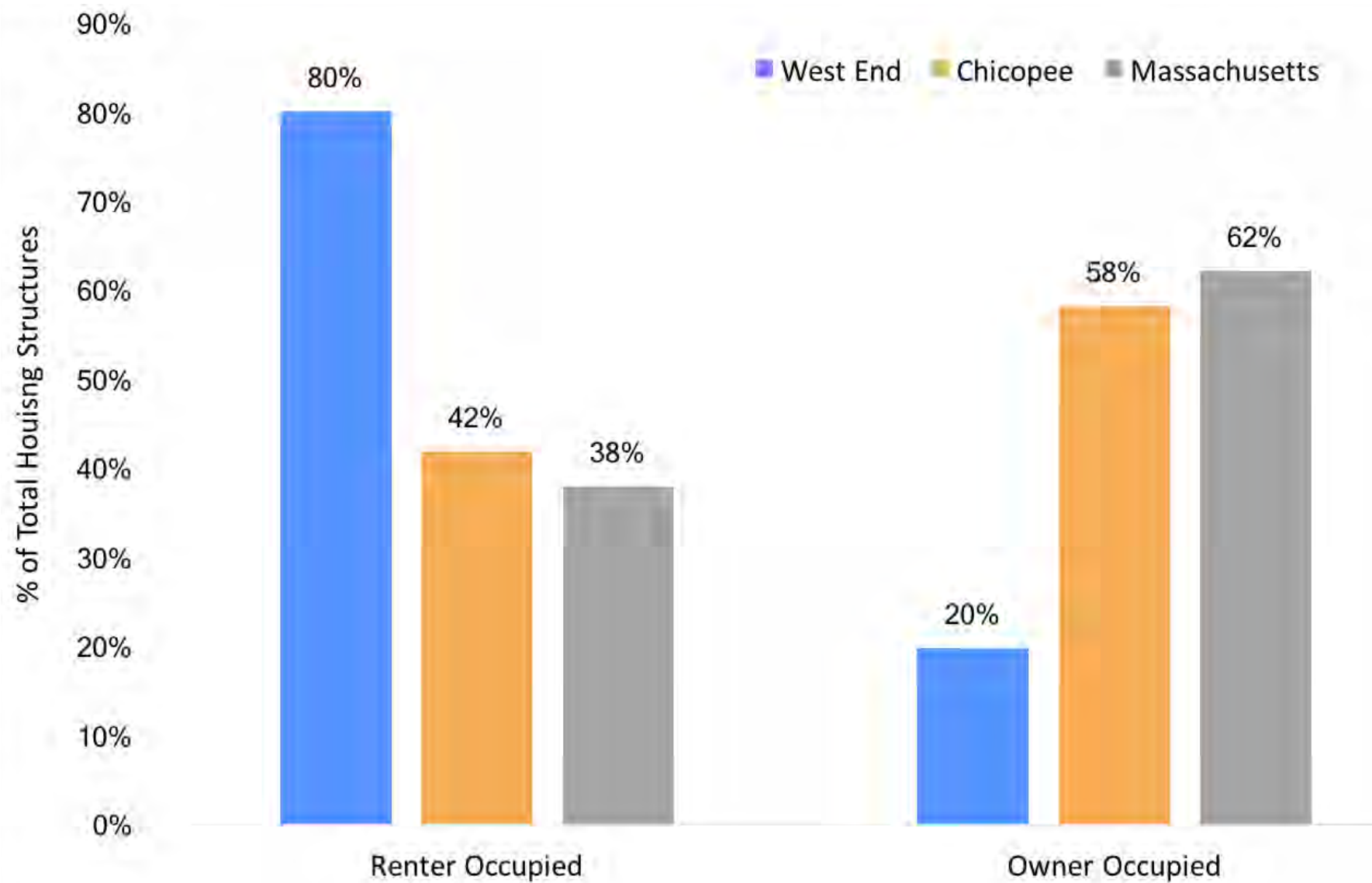


Figure 3.11: Housing tenure in the West End, Chicopee, and Massachusetts (2016)

Massachusetts

There are roughly 950 housing units in the West End neighborhood of Chicopee, which is less than five percent of all housing units in Chicopee. The majority of residents in the West End neighborhood rent their homes. Roughly 80% of units are renter-occupied in the West End neighborhood while only 42% are renter-occupied in the city of Chicopee and 38% in Massachusetts. Taken together, these trends suggest that the majority of residents in the West End neighborhood rent their homes, while the majority of residents in the city of Chicopee and in Massachusetts own their homes.

These housing tenure trends have several implications for the West End neighborhood. With a high renter occupancy in the West End neighborhood, this neighborhood might be relatively more transient compared to other neighborhoods in Chicopee which have a comparatively higher homeownership rate and where residents might therefore be less mobile. The high renter occupancy suggests that the West End neighborhood might be sensitive to gentrification pressures, given that renters are more vulnerable to displacement compared to homeowners.

Housing Density in the West End and Chicopee

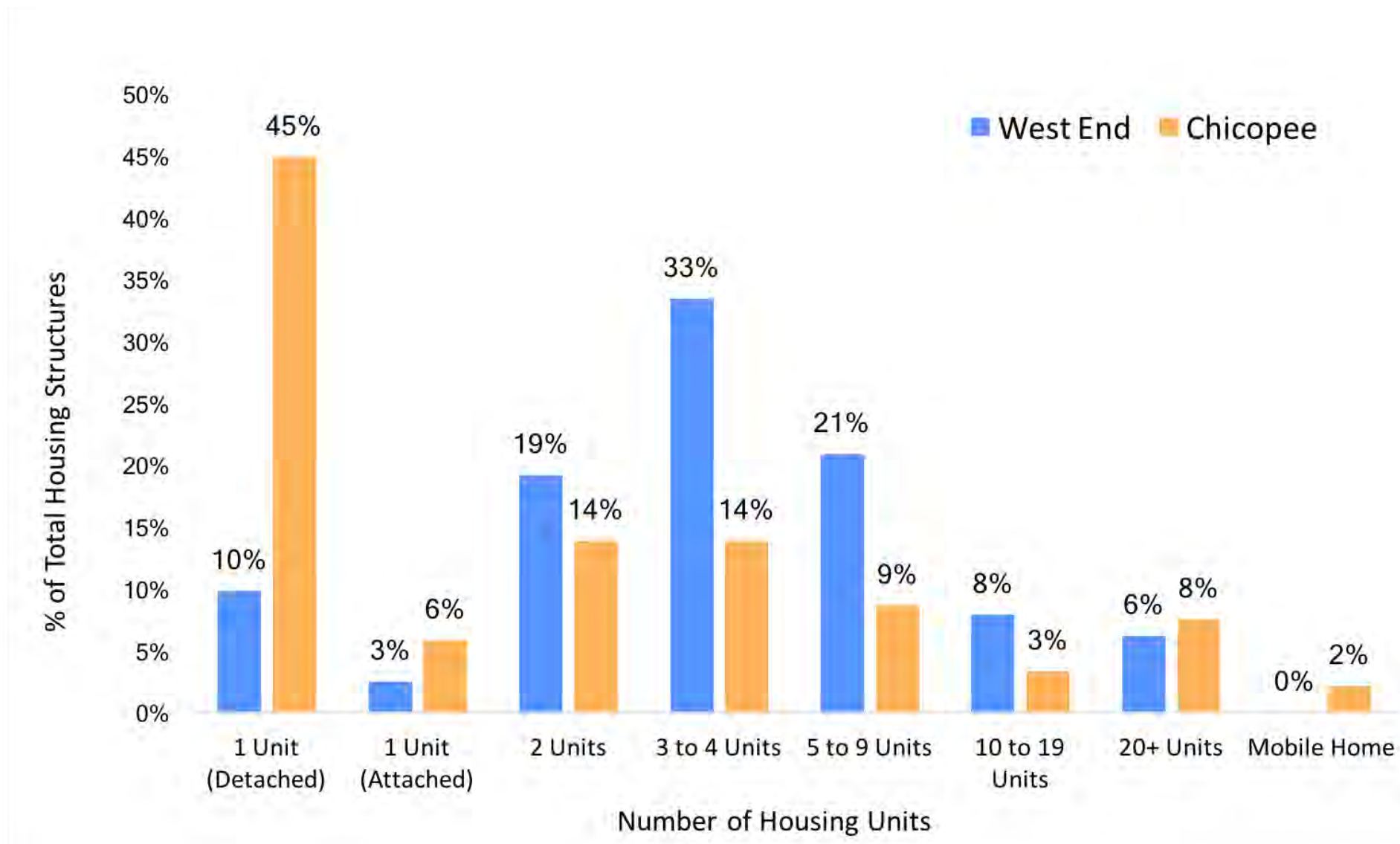


Figure 3.12: Units per housing structure in the West End and Chicopee (2016)

The total number of units per housing structure is an indicator of a neighborhood's housing density. In the West End neighborhood, most housing units are multifamily structures, or structures that have 3 or more units. Roughly a third of all homes in the neighborhood have 3 to 4 units compared to 14% of units in the city of Chicopee overall. In comparison, nearly half (46%) of all housing structures in Chicopee are single family structures, indicating that single-unit structures are far more common in the rest of Chicopee compared to the West End neighborhood. Taken together, these trends indicate that the West End neighborhood is denser than the rest of Chicopee.

In addition, these trends point to one of the West End neighborhood's largest assets. The West End neighborhood has a high stock of structures with three to four units. Although there is generally market demand for structures of this size, developers are often hesitant to build structures of this size because the cost of keeping the building up to fire code outweighs the profit that developers could bring in with so few rental units in the building. The fact that the neighborhood has a large stock of these types of structures could indicate that these buildings could be ideal for redevelopment given market demand.

Housing Vacancy

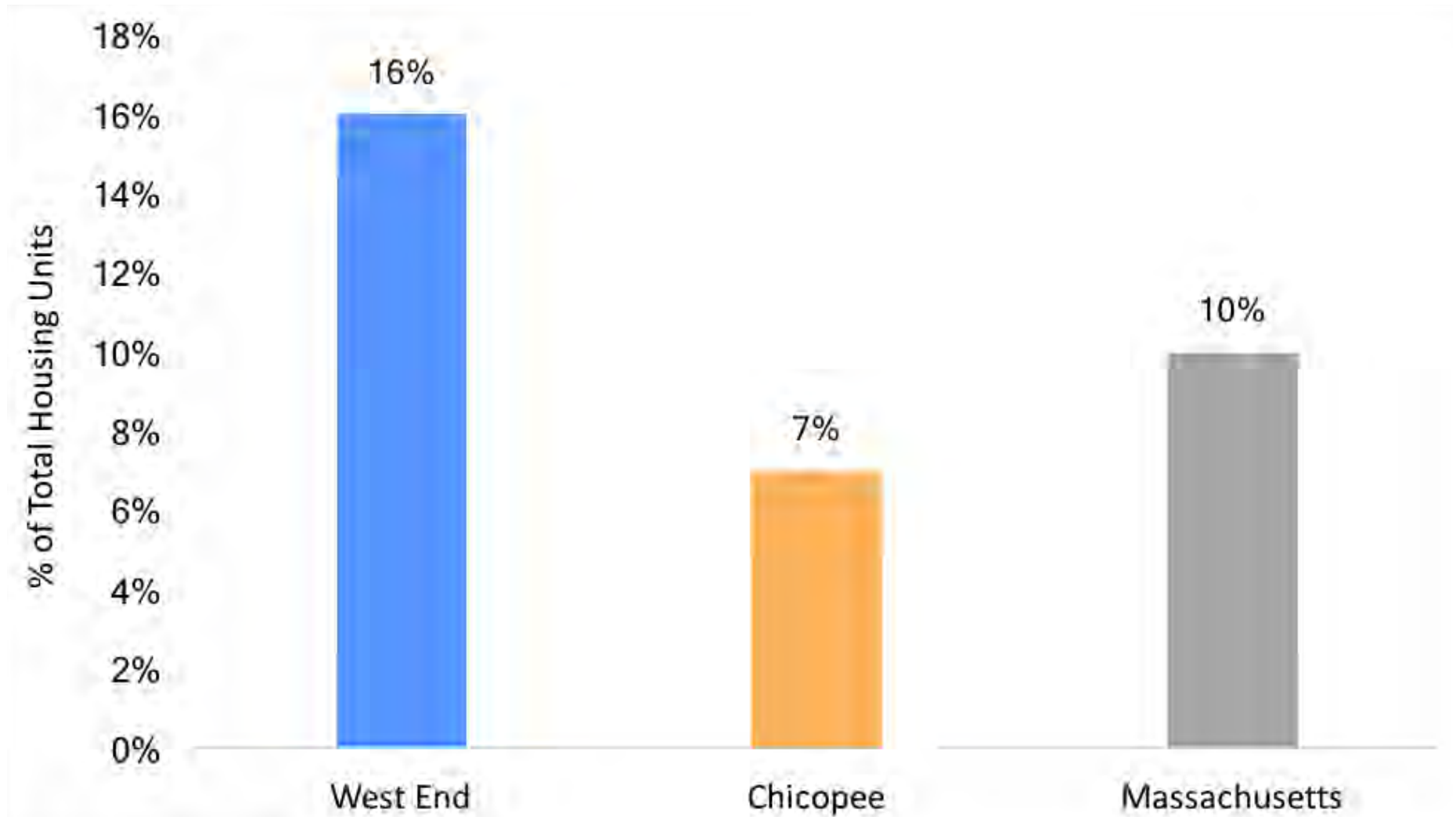


Figure 3.13: Housing unit vacancy rates in the West End (2016)

At 16%, the West End's housing vacancy rate is higher than both Chicopee (7%) and Massachusetts' (10%) vacancy rates.

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Housing Vacancy Categories in the West End

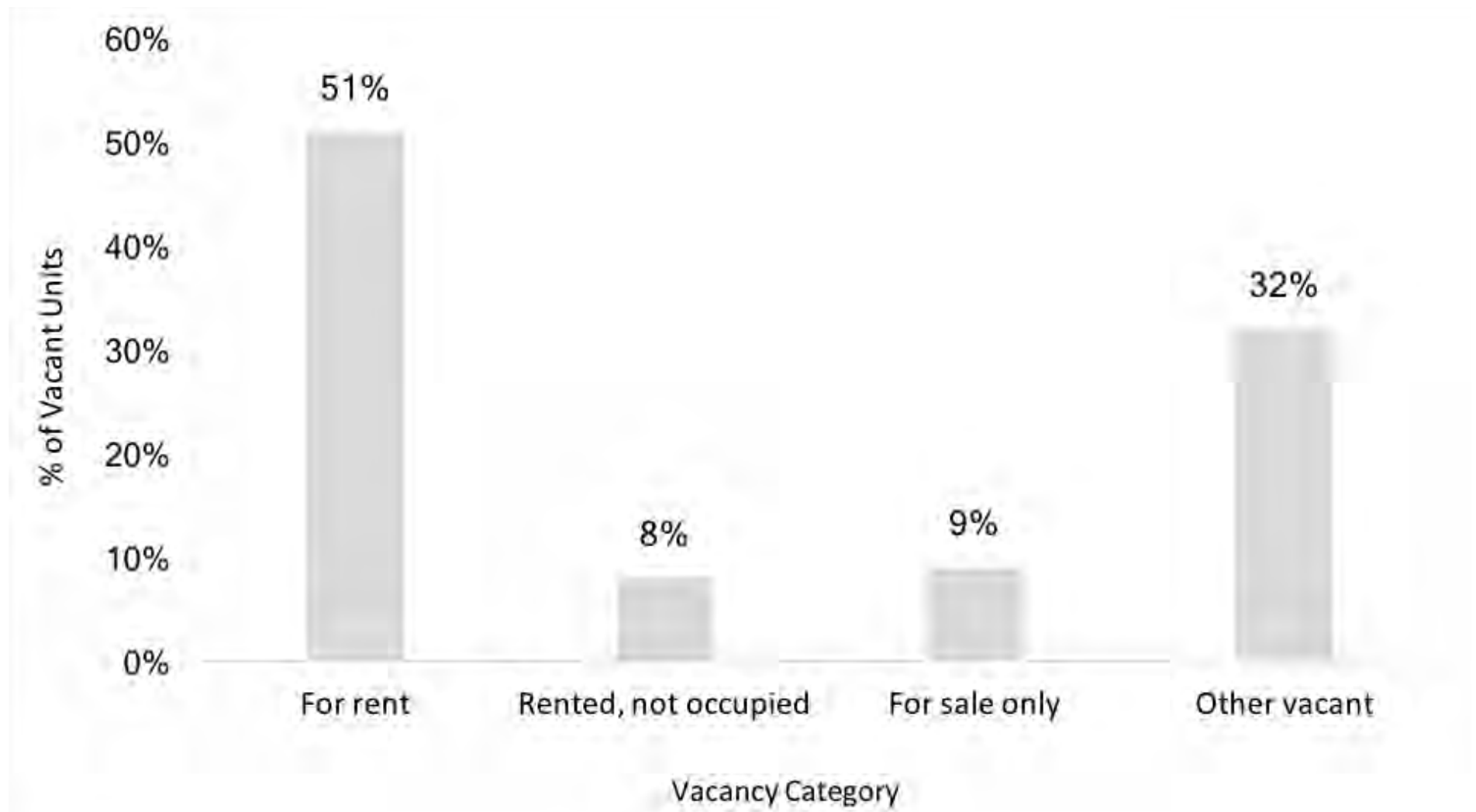


Figure 3.14: Housing vacancy categories in the West End (2016)

Examining a break-down of the vacancy categories within the West End neighborhood, the majority of vacant units are currently listed for rent. The second most common type of vacant unit are categorized as "other vacant" (32%), followed by units for sale (9%) and units that are rented but not currently occupied (8%).

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Housing Age in the West End and Chicopee

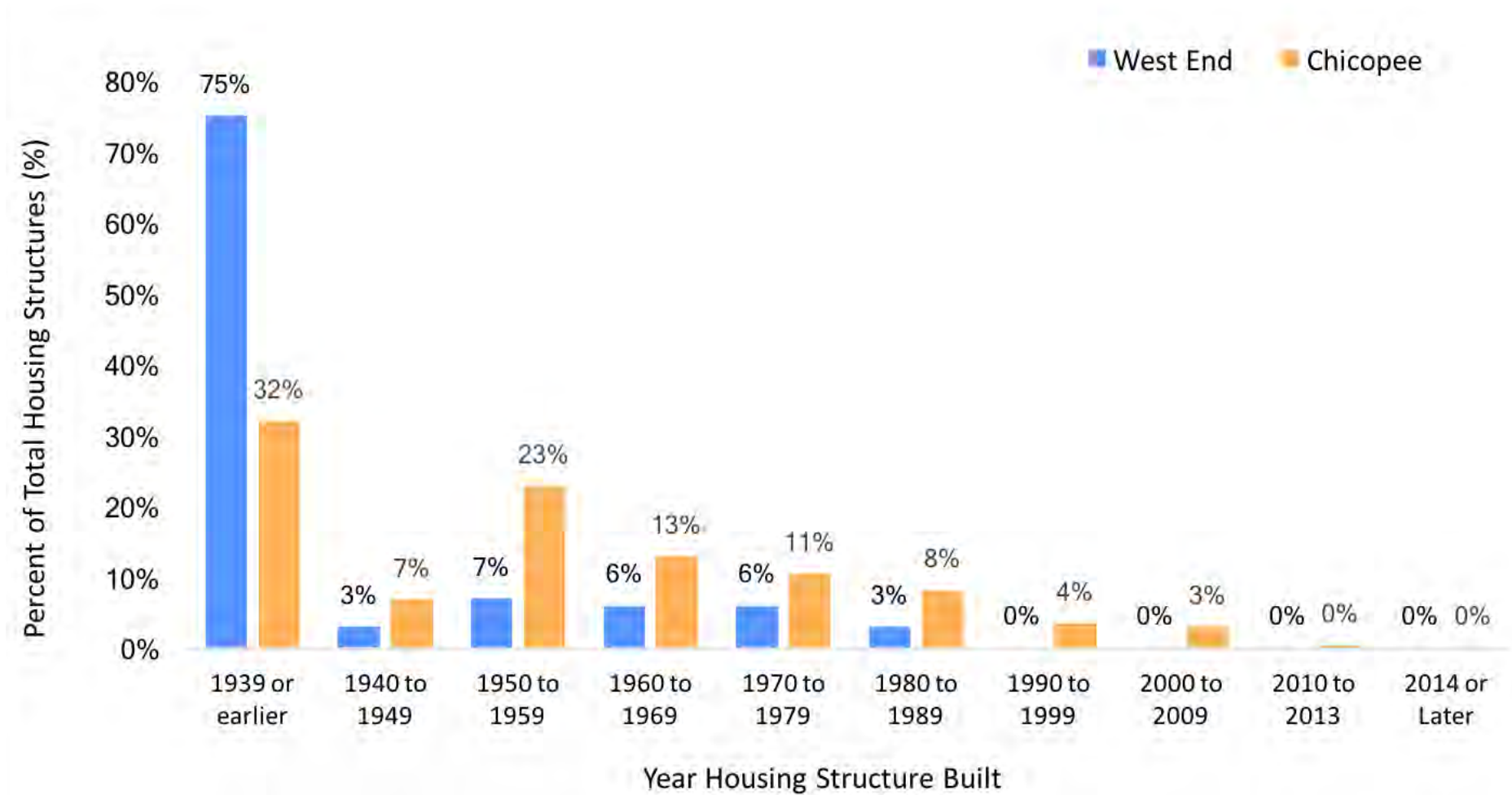


Figure 3.15: Age of housing structures in the West End and Chicopee (2016)

The housing stock in the West End neighborhood is relatively old. Roughly three in four structures (75%) were built before 1940 in the West End neighborhood compared to roughly 32% of structures in the city of Chicopee overall. No new units have been built since 1989 in the West End neighborhood, while roughly 8% of units in the city of Chicopee overall were built after 1989. These trends indicate that the housing stock in the West End neighborhood is comparatively older than the housing stock in the city of Chicopee overall.

These trends in building age indicate that the West End neighborhood has experienced less investment in recent decades compared to the city of Chicopee overall, where new development has taken place. In addition, with an older housing stock, these trends also indicate that redeveloping or retrofitting existing housing structures in the West End neighborhood could potentially pose cost challenges, as older structures often require expensive infrastructure upgrades.

Conclusion

Examining the demographic and housing conditions present in Chicopee both over time and at the present allow us to better understand the people living in Chicopee, and provides insight into the spaces that they call home. Though Chicopee's population has remained stable since the 1980s, the composition of the West End's population has evolved into one with a greater share of older residents, and a declining share of family-aged people. This requires CCP to examine existing opportunities for residents to "age-in-place" in the West End.

Though there is a wide range of income levels in the West End, the neighborhood has lower income levels overall when compared to the rest of Chicopee and the state. Regarding educational attainment, the West End has a higher proportion of persons that have attained an associate's degree than Chicopee or Massachusetts residents; however, West End residents are significantly lower in persons with bachelor's degrees or higher. Most people in the West End work in service jobs, closely followed by sales and office jobs and material moving, transportation, and production jobs.

In addition, the West End is more diverse than the rest of Chicopee. While the majority of the neighborhood is made up of white residents (62%), over a quarter (28%) of residents identify as Hispanic and 7% identify as black. This

compares with a city-wide Hispanic population of 19% and black population of 4%. The share of non-white residents has increased over time in the West End, suggesting that the neighborhood will become even more diverse in the decades to come.

Finally, roughly 75% of the West End's housing stock is older (pre-1939) multifamily rental units. This figure is important to consider in combination with the fact that the new development projects planned for the neighborhood are also exclusively rental units. This may have implications for both keeping current residents in the West End, as well as drawing long-term residents in. Interventions that would increase the inventory of owner-occupied units may be able to provide housing for a diverse range of people, and create opportunities for homeownership for existing residents.



Chapter 4: Understanding Housing

Introduction

Before investigating the challenges and opportunities facing Chicopee's West End neighborhood, it is essential to understand the history of housing trends and policy on the national and regional level. Doing so helps to contextualize current housing conditions in the West End neighborhood. This chapter will provide this context by explaining the evolution of national housing policy and its impact on the western Massachusetts region. The basis for this overview has been developed from academic texts and regional plans from the area.

The History of National Housing Policy

This section provides an overview of national housing policy in the United States from the 1930s through today. It then explains how those policies have unfolded in the West End. Understanding the evolution of national policy is critical for understanding how the West End neighborhood has developed over the years and provides a useful framework for planning the future of the community.

Prior to 1929, homeownership was exclusive. Without any federal housing or lending policies in place, buying a house was reserved only for those who could afford the mortgage terms offered by banks at the time. Typically, down payments amounted to 40% of the purchase price of a home, and mortgages were required to be repaid within

ten years. In 1929, when the United States began to experience a severe economic downturn which would later result in the Great Depression, homeowners were hit particularly hard. During this time, millions of Americans defaulted on their mortgages, and by 1933, more than half of all home mortgages in the United States were in default (Schwartz, 2014, p. 69).

At this time, President Herbert Hoover recognized the role that the housing market plays in the wider economy. By providing jobs in a variety of sectors from construction to manufacturing to banking, President Hoover understood that economic recovery could be driven by the housing industry. In 1932, President Hoover launched the first federal housing reform policy. The Home Loan Bank Act created a Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which supervised 12 regional Home Loan Banks. This system provided reserve credit to banks making home mortgage loans, meaning that if a local bank ran out of money to loan, it could tap into this federally provided credit. Increased access to credit allowed banks to offer mortgages with longer terms and larger amounts, thereby making mortgages more accessible. This represented the beginning of a paramount and pivotal shift in the housing market, which would change the physical and cultural landscape of United States into the future.

When President Roosevelt entered office in 1933, he passed a series of policies associated with the New Deal,

which promoted national economic growth through homeownership. President Roosevelt recognized that access to mortgages was meaningless if foreclosures could not be halted and the housing market strengthened overall. Shortly after entering office, he passed the Home Owners Loan Act, which created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), a federal home mortgage refinancing program. Through this program, the federal government could use long-term bonds to purchase foreclosed properties, rewrite the mortgages with longer terms and lower monthly payments, and sell those properties back in the housing market. In addition, HOLC provided low-interest loans to homeowners to buy back their foreclosed homes and provided funds to pay property taxes and make home repairs. During this time, about 40% of homeowners relied on HOLC for assistance in maintaining or purchasing their home (Schwartz, 2014, p. 71). Combined with Hoover's Home Loan Bank program, Roosevelt's HOLC considerably altered the housing finance system in the United States, making homeownership affordable and accessible for millions of Americans, and cementing the United States economy's tie to the housing market (Schwartz, 2014).

In 1934, the Roosevelt administration further reformed federal housing policy with the introduction of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), one of the most impactful federal housing policies to date. Aiming to further strengthen the United States housing market and bolster

the economy, the FHA rolled out a series of new programs that prompted a housing boom. These included federally insured mortgages, standardized 25 to 30-year mortgage terms, increased maximum loan amounts, and decreased interest rates. For the first time in history, homeownership became cheaper than renting, and home construction skyrocketed with housing starts increasing by 86% between 1937 and 1941 (Schwartz, 2014, p. 73). The introduction of the post-WWII Veterans Administration home loan program, modeled after the FHA program, furthered the housing boom, making homeownership a reality for not only America's middle class, but also its working class.

Yet, there were several key exceptions to the accessibility of homeownership at this time. With strict requirements for the properties and borrowers that the FHA would lend to, the agency had extraordinary power in deciding who could qualify for home financing. At a time of deep racial discrimination and segregation in the United States, the FHA systematically excluded African Americans from accessing FHA loans. In a practice called red lining, the agency denied loans for properties located in predominantly black neighborhoods, as well as urban centers, formally establishing these areas as areas with a high risk for mortgage default. Favoring single family suburban properties, the FHA fueled the phenomena of white flight and urban decay, contributing to the hollowing

out of urban centers around the nation. Instead of using its power to reform discriminatory housing practices, the FHA cemented racism and segregation into federal policy (Schwartz, 2014, p. 75).

In 1938, the Roosevelt administration established Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, creating the secondary mortgage market. These programs allowed the government to acquire FHA-insured mortgages and authorize stocks and bonds to raise funds to funnel into its homeownership programs. In 1968, the government changed Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac from public institutions into privately owned “government sponsored enterprise” (GSE) working on behalf of the public (Schwartz, 2014). These institutions functioned to provide a stable source of funding for home loans by purchasing mortgages from financial institutions, pooling those loans into mortgage backed securities, and selling them to investors. While not officially backed by the government, these securities were considered stable, making them desirable for investors to purchase (Schwartz).

The establishment of the secondary mortgage market added stability to the housing market through the 1970s, when the private housing market began to weaken. The government responded by further de-regulating the housing finance system, giving more power to private firms in buying and selling home loans. This led to increased complexity of the housing finance system, with financial institutions originating mortgages, then selling them off to

other investment banks, who securitized them and sold them again. Investment banks retained little risk in this process, and profited off the fees and other revenues generated through the securitization process (Schwartz, 2014).

By the mid 1990s and early 2000s, the deregulated housing market was experiencing a boom unlike ever before. With minimal oversight, financial institutions pushed the limits in mortgage underwriting, approving home loans for borrowers that would have never previously qualified for a mortgage based on their income or credit history. With the highly complex and deregulated mortgage securitization system in place, bankers felt little responsibility or risk around whether or not borrowers could afford to repay their loans. Called subprime mortgages, millions of Americans bought homes during this time, as both primary residences and investment properties.

The displaced risk associated with the deregulated housing market fueled the housing boom of the early 2000s. It was followed shortly thereafter by the 2008 housing market collapse (Schwartz, p.93). As housing prices began to drop in 2008, investors fled, leaving bankrupt investment banks and resulting in a global financial crisis. At its worst, 40-60% of homeowners in certain states (i.e. Florida, California, Nevada) had negative equity in their homes, owing more money than their house was worth

(Schwartz, p.98). The housing crisis also severely impacted government sponsored secondary market investment enterprises such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mae. These programs, initially designed to make homeownership possible, now had to be bailed out by the government in order to stabilize the economy. With the help of numerous private investment banks, the housing market has recuperated, reigniting the ongoing policy conversation around how to regulate the housing market going forward (Schwartz).

These national housing policies have played out in Chicopee's West End. A thriving and densely populated mixed-use neighborhood, the West End was severely impacted by the Great Depression. During this period, thousands of mill workers lost their jobs, and the large mill operations in the West End went bankrupt (Szetela, 1948). While most of the community's working class population were renters, middle- and upper-class managers and business owners were not excluded from the financial hardship of the Great Depression, and many lost their homes to foreclosure during this time. While the West End's mill economy would continue to persist through the middle of the century, it would never return to its early 20th century heyday, and its housing market would never fully recover.

By the 1940s, President Roosevelt's New Deal was encouraging working and middle-class families to buy

homes in the suburbs (Schwartz). With the United States economy shifting away from manufacturing, and fewer mill jobs available every year, people began to leave the West End. With FHA-issued mortgages becoming increasingly accessible to middle income Americans, many former West End residents purchased homes in the growing suburban-style Memorial Drive and Burnett Road neighborhoods. For the neighborhood's low-income residents, staying in the neighborhood meant enduring the hollowing out of the neighborhood's resources. With a declining population, the West End experienced economic disinvestment by both private markets and city government. Throughout the late 20th century, the neighborhood faced a growing vacancy rate, an increased rate of unemployment, and a decreasing median household income. (For more information on the demographic history of the West End, see Chapter 3).

While the United States experienced a housing boom in the early-2000s, which was followed by a housing market crash in 2008, the West End was somewhat insulated from these market shifts, primarily due to its already weak housing market. With an existing low-income population and little development pressure, the neighborhood's rents have remained low, and there is little incentive for developers to invest in the neighborhood. This has led to the current conditions in the West End community, as described in Chapter 2.

By understanding the evolution of federal housing

policy over time, it becomes clear how the West End neighborhood transitioned from a vibrant mixed-use center to a struggling post-industrial economy with a depressed housing market. While the West End remains an affordable neighborhood for low-income people, it fails to provide the services and amenities that residents need. In an effort to develop the West End community, the city of Chicopee does not aim to displace existing residents, but instead to include them in the revitalization of the neighborhood. By bringing both a diverse range of housing types and prices into the neighborhood, along with the economic development that will meet the service and amenity needs of both new and existing residents, the Client aims to return the West End to the thriving mixed-use community it once was.

Housing Issues and Trends in the Pioneer Valley

In 2014, the Pioneer Valley Planning Commission (PVPC) published the Pioneer Valley region's first-ever comprehensive housing plan, the PVPC Regional Housing Plan. This plan provides critical context about the West End's regional housing environment. The three sections in this report that are most applicable to our housing study of the West End neighborhood are: regional housing issues, future population and household trends, and segregation in the Pioneer Valley. Each of these topics will address gaps in our knowledge regarding the status of housing in the wider

Pioneer Valley region as it relates to the West End.

The Pioneer Valley faces persistent challenges related to housing. One key challenge is the clear distinction between weak housing market communities and strong market communities. According to the PVPC Regional Housing Plan, Chicopee is considered a weak market city, meaning that Chicopee has lower home values that fall below the cost of construction, high vacancy rates, high number of foreclosures, an older housing stock, and a low household growth rate. The PVPC Regional Housing Plan also cites widening gaps between household incomes and housing costs, complex funding assembly for new housing projects, and property investors who do not extend their investment into wider neighborhoods as major challenges that the Pioneer Valley chronically faces. These trends are reflected in the West End neighborhood, where little to no private investment in new housing development has occurred since 1990.

Changing population and household trends will likely affect future demand for certain types of housing in the Pioneer Valley. Though the number of households in the Pioneer Valley is projected to increase largely due to an influx of migrants from Puerto Rico and immigrants from other countries, the number of people living in households will likely decrease. This will likely lead to higher demand for smaller condo and apartment housing units throughout the Pioneer Valley. Another factor contributing to changing

demand for housing is the retiring Baby Boomer generation, who will likely seek smaller homes. The entrance of the millennial generation into the housing market will also increase demand for smaller homes because millennials are more burdened with student loan debt than previous generations. Market research has also indicated that millennials are more willing to use public transportation, walk or bike to work, value cultural diversity, and less heavily prioritize the quality of public schools when choosing housing. For these reasons, millennials are more interested in living in urban areas than previous generations.

These findings directly relate to our housing and economic development plan for the West End neighborhood because they indicate that smaller condos and apartments in urban areas are projected to be in higher demand in the Pioneer Valley in the coming years. Since both the existing housing stock and the units created through the mill redevelopment projects are mostly smaller housing units in an urban neighborhood, there may be greater demand to live in this neighborhood in the coming years by both retiring baby boomers and millennials entering the housing market.

The third most pertinent topic addressed in PVPC's Regional Housing Plan discusses the segregation present in the Pioneer Valley. Though the Pioneer Valley's population continues to grow more racially and ethnically diverse, this

diversity is concentrated in select regions within the Pioneer Valley, resulting in segregation. This diversity is usually present in the Pioneer Valley's cities. For example, the City of Springfield is home to over 75% of all black residents in the Pioneer Valley, and Holyoke is home to over half of all of the Pioneer Valley's Hispanic residents. Furthermore, minority communities tend to live within concentrated neighborhoods within these cities. A recent study showed that the Pioneer Valley is the number one metropolitan region in the U.S. in Hispanic-white segregation and second in black-white segregation.

This is an important finding for our study of the West End neighborhood. The West End is more ethnically diverse compared to other Chicopee neighborhoods and is becoming more ethnically diverse over time. Specifically, the share of white residents in the West End is decreasing, while the share of Hispanic residents is growing. Since Hispanic-white segregation in the Pioneer Valley is number one among all metropolitan regions, and, according to PVPC, "poverty and racial and ethnic segregation go hand-in-hand," it is essential that the West End neighborhood provides life-enriching opportunities like "quality education, living in a neighborhood that is safe and provides access to recreational amenities, having access to good jobs that provide a living wage, and living in a community that has access to fresh, healthy foods and health care services." PVPC explains that these amenities

are less prevalent in isolated low-income communities compared to suburban communities.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of national housing and policy trends from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present. The history of national housing policy in the United States is complicated, offering both unprecedented opportunities for some members of the American public, while severely restricting opportunities for others. While federal housing programs helped to bring homeownership within the grasp of more people than ever before, including working class people, these same policies were also the source of fraught consequences. National housing policies codified racially discriminatory lending practices, particularly in urban markets, and eventually led to economic disinvestment in urban centers.

These national-level housing trends played out at the local level, providing important context for current housing conditions in the West End. In part a result of these national-level housing policies, the city of Chicopee faced economic disinvestment over the years, embodied by the closing of the neighborhood's mills and the high rate of poverty that persists in the neighborhood today. The fact that some of the challenges that the West End neighborhood is facing today are deeply entrenched in its history provides important context for how to address these challenges

going forward.

The regional housing context of the Pioneer Valley directly affects the housing conditions present in the West End today. As a neighborhood in a weak market city with an older housing stock, lower home values, and high vacancy rates, the West End has failed to attract private investment in the form of housing development for many decades. The entrance of retiring baby boomers and millennials into the Pioneer Valley housing market will shift demand from larger single family homes to smaller condos and apartments located in urban areas, making new housing units created from the redevelopment of the Lyman and Cabotville mills an attractive option for these groups. Finally, Pioneer Valley's racial and ethnic segregation highlights the reality that communities of color in the Pioneer Valley's cities are severely underserved and enjoy a fraction of the amenities compared to predominantly white suburban communities. Historic and regional context provides CCP with important knowledge that will help us to more holistically understand challenges specific to the West End neighborhood that are identified from our public engagement process.

DRAFT REPORT



Chapter 5: Literature Review

Introduction

Post-industrial cities represent a unique opportunity for community development and downtown revitalization. Once home to thriving manufacturing industries and vibrant working class communities, many post-industrial cities were hollowed out during the second half of the 20th century. With a shifting national economy moving jobs abroad and federal policy encouraging people to move to the suburbs, the vast manufacturing infrastructure and dense neighborhoods of many post-industrial cities were abandoned. Over the past fifty years, these communities have become home to growing populations of low-income people, immigrants, and other marginalized communities, previously excluded from other neighborhoods. However, current trends indicate that people are moving back to urban centers. While post-industrial cities look for strategies to transform their vacant manufacturing infrastructure and mid-century housing stock into once again thriving and vibrant urban centers, they recognize that truly thriving and desirable 21st century communities are diverse and inclusive, and require revitalization strategies that are equitable for all community members.

Equitable downtown revitalization is centered around two key components: access to diverse housing options (i.e. different housing types and prices) and an economy which provides diverse goods, services, and employment

opportunities. Developing communities which offer these kinds of opportunities and allow both existing and newly relocated residents to thrive has proven to be a challenge. Historically, many revitalization efforts have resulted in gentrification. Gentrification is the systematic renovation of a neighborhood to adhere to the cultural preferences of middle and upper class, often white people, which over time may make the neighborhood unaffordable and undesirable to many existing residents, resulting in their displacement. Long term revitalization success has been directly connected to mitigating displacement, making equitable community development a top priority in the revitalization of post-industrial cities.

This literature review explores strategies for promoting equitable revitalization efforts in post-industrial cities. It focuses on theoretical considerations as well as tools and techniques for increasing housing diversity and economic development opportunities which serve both existing post-industrial urban populations as well as potential future residents of these cities. This literature was a critical factor in CCP's development of recommendations made for the West End. Using academic journal databases, newspapers, and professional magazines, CCP has selected literature that investigates appropriate theoretical frameworks and strategies for promoting equitable revitalization in post-industrial cities. CCP has focused these selections specifically on the core

components of revitalization: housing and economic development. The specific themes of this literature review are: understanding and preventing gentrification, promoting housing diversity, creative economic development strategies, preparing for an aging population, and tools and techniques for equitable land use. By understanding these themes, this literature review aims to connect the unique opportunity of revitalization in post-industrial cities with the critical need for equity in building sustainable and vibrant urban centers into the future.

Following this brief introduction, the next section explores the phenomena of gentrification in order to clarify its challenges, understand its historical implications, and consider prevention strategies. The following section investigates the challenges and opportunities around building mixed-income housing which encourage a diverse population. The next section considers creative alternative economic development methods for downtown revitalization. The section after that discusses strategies specific to preparing communities for an aging population, a critical population to include in equitable urban revitalization. The last section presents specific tools and techniques used to advance the strategies previously mentioned, focusing on zoning regulations and land use policies which promote equity.

Understanding and Preventing Gentrification

This section discusses the concept of gentrification. The first three scholars help us to understand what gentrification is and how it impacts communities. The final two scholars present analyses of strategies employed in an effort to prevent gentrification and its negative impacts. Yee (2018) presents the phenomena of gentrification by examining its presence in Brooklyn, NY which demonstrates how low-income families are affected by the influx of upper income residents. Ellen and O'Regan (2011) examine the impacts of gentrification on the displacement of low-income residents, arguing that renters are more likely to be impacted than homeowners. Shaw and Hagemans (2015) argue that even when low-income residents are not displaced from a gentrifying neighborhood, there remain significant negative impacts as a result of the neighborhood changes. Crimaldi (2018) examines the city of Boston's efforts to prevent gentrification and displacement in a Dorchester neighborhood by examining the City's strategy of proactively including existing residents in community visioning, and utilizing infill techniques on vacant parcels to realize those community-generated ideas. Sheridan (2017) argues that downtown revitalization is only successful and sustainable when it is equitable and includes all members of the community. Together these papers demonstrate the real risks of gentrification as a result of urban revitalization, as well as the tactics planners

Shaw and Hagemans (2015) argue that even when low-income residents are not displaced from a gentrifying neighborhood, there remain significant negative impacts as a result of the neighborhood changes. Crimaldi (2018) examines the city of Boston's efforts to prevent gentrification and displacement in a Dorchester neighborhood by examining the City's strategy of proactively including existing residents in community visioning, and utilizing infill techniques on vacant parcels to realize those community-generated ideas. Sheridan (2017) argues that downtown revitalization is only successful and sustainable when it is equitable and includes all members of the community. Together these papers demonstrate the real risks of gentrification as a result of urban revitalization, as well as the tactics planners and community members may use to temper the negative impacts and build truly inclusive communities.

Yee examines the displacement, or forced relocation, of predominantly African-American and West Indian residents from the Crown Heights neighborhood in Brooklyn, NY from the mid-2000s to the present. The Crown Heights neighborhood has witnessed a strong influx of white college graduates and younger families. After interviewing current and former residents and tenant advocates in Crown Heights, Lee describes how rapidly escalating rents, in addition to a variety of landlord harassment tactics (e.g. evicting residents or ignoring

maintenance requests) have propelled the displacement of often long-term residents from the Crown Heights neighborhood. In response to these pressures, Yee describes how families have forged several paths to adapt to their changed circumstances. The paths are as follows: individuals adapt by living in doubled-up living arrangements with family or friends, accept landlord buyout offers, or move out of the neighborhood or the city altogether.

In order to mitigate some of these challenges, tenant advocates have worked with existing residents to combat their displacement from the Crown Heights neighborhood. Tenant advocates provide a variety of services to support and represent the rights of renters. For example, tenant advocates often provide legal services, represent renters in housing court, help renters apply for housing, and help negotiate with landlords on the renter's behalf.

Yee's examination of displacement in Crown Heights is relevant to the Client because it highlights the potential negative side effects associated with the two planned mill redevelopment projects in the West End neighborhood. After these mills are redeveloped, property values in the surrounding neighborhood will likely increase, and low-income residents might face similar pressures as those that Yee describes. As the Client assesses how to mitigate expected displacement pressures, the city of Chicopee

should ensure that there are a variety of tenant resources made available to assist and support the existing population of renters. By working to promote access to these resources, the city will ensure that residents facing eviction or landlord harassment have the necessary resources to make informed and lawful decisions about their housing arrangements.

Ellen and O'Regan research the patterns of change in metropolitan low-income neighborhoods during the 1990s to understand which members of the community are displaced when average neighborhood incomes increase. Ellen and O'Regan examine data from the American Housing Survey from 1989 to 2001, the 1990 and 2000 American Decennial Census, and the Urban Institutes' Neighborhood Change Database. The researchers found that homeowners left gentrifying neighborhoods at a lower rate than low-income rental households. In addition, Ellen and O'Regan did not find any conclusive evidence that these neighborhoods grew less racially diverse than they already were.

Ellen and O'Regan's study touches on an important facet of displacement in primarily white neighborhoods. Based on their analysis, if the neighborhood is going to experience a considerable demographic transition, then it will be through the renting population. Ellen and O'Regan examined what percentage of renters left the target communities in 2-year increments based on whether that

household experienced a rise in median household income. The data indicates that renters who did not experience a rise in median household income left their community at a 2.1% higher rate than households that did. According to Ellen and O'Regan, homeowners remain largely unaffected and only experience minor shifts. The analysis explains that raising property values can displace some renters, but the main vehicles of entry and exit into these neighborhoods were not due to rising property values.

Ellen and O'Regan's analysis of who leaves and stays in the neighborhood has important implications for the West End community and its future housing plans. Currently, 80% of West End residents rent, suggesting that this is a community particularly threatened by displacement as a result of gentrification. In order to mitigate this risk of displacement, it will be critical for the Client to ensure that low-income renters continue to have access to affordable housing in their community, particularly after the Lyman and Cabotville housing projects are completed. In addition, this study suggests that it is important for residents to have opportunities to own property in their community. Strategies for promoting access to low-income rental and homeowner opportunities will be explored later in this literature review.

Shaw and Hagemans (2015) examine whether negative side effects of gentrification still occur when existing members of the community are not displaced.

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Shaw and Hagemans (2015) examine whether negative side effects of gentrification still occur when existing members of the community are not displaced. Shaw and Hagemans interviewed 22 long-term, low-income residents who were in secure fixed-rent community housing from two different neighborhoods in Melbourne, Australia. The researchers reported that when there are significant changes in the built environment, including physical spaces and community gathering spaces, as well as social structures, including local leadership and local leadership and government interventions, residents experience a significant loss of place, or gentrification, even if the community is not displaced. The researchers suggested that to fully combat gentrification, attention should be given to

preserving shops, meeting places, and the nature of local social and governance structures that existed before the relocation of the new population.

Shaw and Hagemans support their findings by critiquing Duany (2001), who argues that new residents in gentrifying communities often attempt to frame development as a positive for the overall community. Duany says new residents often argue that an influx of middle class residents is a “rising tide that lifts all boats” (Duany, 2001). Shaw and Hagemans’ community-based research demonstrates that this is not always how existing community members experience development.

Shaw and Hagemans’ findings hold strong relevance for the West End. The Client asked CCP to consider issues related to potential displacement resulting from new development. As this study shows, understanding the community’s perspective is essential when planning for new development. Current residents hold critical knowledge around important community gathering spaces, how the local social structure operates, and what sort of local government interventions have worked for the community in the past. Utilizing the public engagement strategy, CCP aims to gain these community insights, which will directly inform recommendations to the Client.

Crimaldi (2018) describes the City of Boston’s plan to combat the encroaching forces of gentrification in one of its few remaining working-class neighborhoods,

Dorchester's Uphams Corner. Boston is concerned that affluent residents may move into this neighborhood for its affordability and displace current residents. Boston thus has launched a proactive effort to prevent this from happening by purchasing underutilized land parcels in Uphams Corner and redeveloping the parcels based on resident recommendations. The city says that by promoting community-led decision-making and city ownership of these sites, developers are less able to build high-end condos, upscale restaurants, or other amenities associated with gentrifying neighborhoods.

Crimaldi says that through community visioning workshops, residents envisioned their neighborhood as a future arts and cultural center that maintains its affordable housing costs and cost of living. In 2017, the city purchased the former Bank of America building, adding a third parcel to their inventory of city-owned buildings in Uphams Corner, along with a fourth parcel owned by the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative community land trust. The city is considering a variety of uses for these parcels based on community feedback. These include developing these properties into a new public library branch, an artist performance space with a rooftop garden or an interior courtyard, and low-income housing units. The Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation hopes to see community-oriented uses at the redevelopment sites rather than uses that contribute to gentrification. The city sees this

strategy of purchasing properties and redeveloping it for community uses as a potential model for future anti-gentrification efforts, if it is successful.

This is an important article to consider in thinking about the redevelopment of the West End, where the threat of displacement is considerable for the high rental population. Relying on the strategies being tested in Boston, the Client may investigate purchasing additional parcels in the West End neighborhood to develop based on the recommendations of existing community members. The Client may consider using land banking or a community land trust model to acquire community-owned land, coupled with a neighborhood-wide community visioning process, to implement this strategy.

Sheridan (2017) supports the findings of Yee, Shaw

and Hademans, and Crimaldi by arguing that in order for urban development to have long-term success (i.e. reducing income disparities, lowering unemployment rates, and building vibrant communities) it must include the City's most marginalized communities. According to Sheridan, equity is a critical metric for successful urban development. He investigates revitalization and economic development efforts by interviewing the mayors of three growing cities: Anchorage, AK; Grand Rapids, MI; and San Jose, CA. Sheridan finds that while private investment is driving growth, the projects are successful in building racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods because they are coupled with initiatives which directly benefit the City's low income neighborhoods and communities of color. For example, the mayor of Grand Rapids, MI describes prioritizing initiatives which focus on building racial equity and dismantling institutional racism. The mayor of San Jose, CA says the city is investing \$1 billion in building low-income housing units over the next 20 years alongside its growing tech industry. Sheridan also includes comments from the mayor of Washington D.C., who says the city is focusing on building mixed-income housing and investing in public facilities, alongside the development of a new sports arena.

The Client can benefit directly from Sheridan's analysis. While the cities described are larger than the city of Chicopee, the dynamics they describe around equitable urban development are the same. For example, the Urban

Land Institute's Global Chief Executive Officer, Patrick L. Phillips says, "The key is making sure that those who are living alongside this new development benefit as much as those who move to it" (Sheridan, 2017). In Chicopee Center, it will be critical to ensure that the Cabotville and Lyman redevelopment projects provide benefits to the wider community. These benefits could include tax incentives for developers to promote the construction of additional low-income housing in the neighborhood, investment of tax dollars in maintaining public spaces, and ensuring that new businesses create jobs for West End residents.

In summary, the studies discussed in this section demonstrate that gentrification is a significant concern for urban redevelopment and revitalization in any community, yet post-industrial cities remain particularly threatened due to their large populations of low-income residents who rent. While displacement of low-income people remains the top risk of gentrification, there are also significant negative impacts on low-income communities and communities of color even when they are able to stay in the gentrifying neighborhood. In order to hinder those negative impacts, the literature says that downtown revitalization efforts must be community-led, inclusive, and explicit in their aim to promote equity. There are a wide array of methods employed in order to do so, including authentic community engagement, municipal investment

in amenities which serve all community members, and a commitment to including low-income housing projects in the revitalization plan.

Promoting Housing Diversity

This section examines the challenges and benefits associated with promoting housing diversity as a tool for driving equitable urban revitalization. Housing diversity means that a neighborhood has a variety of housing types (i.e. single family homes, studio apartments, two-bedroom apartments, etc.) and costs (i.e. low-income housing and market-rate housing), in order to ensure that different types of households may find appropriate and affordably-priced housing in the neighborhood. The literature suggests that housing diversity promotes wider economic and racial diversity, which supports neighborhood-wide inclusivity and vibrancy. Guillot (2016) examines the challenges related to creating mixed-income housing developments, focusing on complex funding structures, social isolation of low-income community members, and ultimately, the failure to reduce income segregation. Freeman and Schuetz (2017) investigate the effectiveness of governmental techniques promoting the construction of low-income housing at a variety of scales and as both rental and ownership opportunities, which promote mixed income neighborhoods. Finally, Abrams (2018) looks specifically at the challenges associated with mill renovation projects as a

tool for downtown revitalization in post-industrial cities, discussing the particular difficulty associated with drawing millennials and startups to these areas. Collectively, these studies demonstrate why housing diversity is critical to building neighborhoods that meet the demands of all types of community members, but also the significant challenges associated with doing so.

Guillot (2016) discusses several challenges related to creating mixed-income housing developments. The challenges include complicated funding structures, social isolation, displacement, and failure to reduce income segregation. Regarding complicated funding structures, mixed-income housing developments are often

challenging to fund because funds must be obtained from several sources (e.g. federal government, tax credits, and private investment). There is also a lack of general knowledge about how mixed-income developments function in the markets that they are located in. Regarding social isolation and displacement, Guillot argues that it can be difficult to maintain an ideal ratio of low-income to market rate housing in a mixed-use development, as it depends on the quantity of each type of housing that already exists in the neighborhood. In general, the literature states that between 20% and 30% of housing should be affordable to low-income households (Kirk, 2012). Guillot argues that when this ratio tips in favor of market rate housing, low-income community members may lose their social networks, undermining the very essence of their social lives. Additionally, though mixed-income developments may make neighborhoods more income-diverse, large-scale income inequality in the United States continues to increase.

Guillot's arguments are pertinent to the Client because of their interest in developing a diverse housing stock and mixed-income community. Developing a mixed-income community in the West End will require a nuanced understanding of the current housing stock in order to develop an ideal target for an appropriate ratio of market rate to low-income housing. In addition, developing the West End as a mixed-income community will also require a

complex network of funding sources. CCP will also address both of these concerns in the recommendations.

Freeman and Schuetz investigate the effectiveness of governmental techniques promoting affordable housing units across a variety of geographic scales (community and regional), and for both renters and owners. The authors define affordable housing as any house that is rented or sold below market prices, or can be occupied only by households below a designated income threshold. Similarly, the affordable housing policies mentioned fall into two categories including those policies that create a local funding mechanism, also known as subsidies and those that use zoning and planning law to achieve the above mentioned definition of affordability.

Freeman and Schuetz first review federal funding sources such as Low-Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC) and Housing Choice Voucher Programs (HCV). The LIHTC program is one of the largest sources of funding and uses federal income tax credits to fund low-income housing in the United States. HCV Programs (with specific names varying by region) are federal rent subsidies, at the household level, and are administered locally in state and community specific initiatives. Similarly, nonprofit programs, such as the Housing Partnership Equity Trust, act as a social venture real estate pool of capital that can be quickly deployed to acquire rental properties at risk of becoming too expensive. Finally, inclusionary zoning, which

sets aside housing at below market rents, falls into the second definition of low-income housing policies.

Freeman and Schuetz then analyzed the efficacy of local inclusionary zoning programs and statewide policies within three states (California, Massachusetts, and New Jersey) by comparing low-income housing production data against 150 local programs within 5 regions of the country. Overall, Freeman and Schuetz found that inclusionary zoning produces on average fewer low-income housing units than Low Income Housing Tax Credits. Furthermore, the authors recommend that cities reduce the number of regulatory land-use burdens on development and that cities upzone neighborhoods (increasing allowable densities) in an attempt to produce smaller, lower cost housing units. Land-use burdens include reducing the monetary costs of complying with federal, state, and local development regulations, which drive up the cost of housing.

In Chicopee's West End neighborhood, Freeman and Schuetz's study helps in recommending initiatives to increase housing affordability. While the highest production levels of inclusionary zoning were found in high population regions such as Washington DC, Freeman and Schwartz specifically mention that many Boston-area towns do not have full time planners or town managers, making Low Income Housing Tax Credits the better option. In addition, when addressing the housing challenges from a zoning perspective, by upzoning the West End neighborhood while

downzoning (decreasing allowable densities) outer suburban neighborhoods, the Cien could encourage more low-income units within the city. Overall, Freeman and Schuetz's study opens a discussion of both land-use and local funding policies that could be applied within the West End neighborhood.

Abrams describes how the Capital Broadcasting Company, a media company based in Raleigh, NC, plans to redevelop Rocky Mount Mills, a former textile mill campus in Rocky Mount, NC. Rocky Mount is a town that has experienced substantial economic decline following the closure of the Rocky Mount Mills in 1996, one of the area's leading employers. Abrams explains how Capital

Broadcasting Company aims to recast the mills as a destination spot for millennials and start up companies by providing office space, loft apartments, breweries, “tiny home” motels (nightly rental properties which are less than 400 square feet), and other amenities. While the redeveloped mill campus could have a catalytic impact on the struggling area, Abrams also highlights some of the challenges associated with a redevelopment project in an area that does not have the advantage of being located near a major city or university. For example, Abrams cautions that redeveloped mills in depressed regions might pose a “chicken and egg” problem. Millennial residents must be attracted to the area on the basis that the area offers high-quality jobs, but businesses will only relocate to that area if they are convinced that the area has a sufficient stock of high-quality workers living in the area.

The Rocky Mount mill redevelopment project provides several lessons to the Client as it prepares for the two mill redevelopment projects in the West End neighborhood to come online. Similar to Rocky Mount, Chicopee is an area that has faced substantial economic decline following the closure of the textile mills in the West End neighborhood in the 1970s. To address some of the challenges that Abrams outlines, the Client should consider launching a marketing campaign that highlights Chicopee’s assets in the region. For example, the marketing campaign could highlight the West End neighborhood’s proximity to

surrounding universities in the Pioneer Valley and nearby Springfield, including: Elms College (Chicopee, MA), Mount Holyoke College (South Hadley, MA), Springfield College (Springfield, MA), American International College (Springfield, MA) and Western New England University (Springfield, MA), all located within 15 miles of the neighborhood, in addition to many more located within 30 miles. The marketing campaign could also highlight Chicopee’s proximity to a variety of outdoor recreation destinations (e.g. multi-use trails and skiing) in the Pioneer Valley, which would attract young professionals to the area, including Chicopee Memorial State Park, Ashley Reservoir, and Mount Tom State Reservation, as well as easy access to ski mountains further north. In doing so, the marketing campaign might help to overcome some of the challenges that Abrams highlights, including initial hesitation on the part of businesses to move to an area that in recent years has faced economic decline and disinvestment.

Developing a neighborhood with a wide variety of housing types and costs seems like an obvious strategy for ensuring that a community is diverse and inclusive, yet the literature shows that this is both not always the case, and not simple to do. These scholars demonstrate that simply offering a variety of housing types does not always correlate with the experience of diversity for people who live in the neighborhood. Additionally, the funding structures and incentives for developers to build low-income housing can

make offering diverse housing options a considerable challenge. On the other hand, when low-income neighborhoods aim to draw new residents to a revitalizing neighborhood to infuse a neighborhood with more high-income residents, they may also face challenges to drawing new residents into the area. While planning for housing diversity is a goal of equitable revitalization, the literature highlights the myriad challenges that planners must contend with in reaching that goal.

Creative Economic Development Strategies

This section discusses creative economic development strategies which promote local economies and employment opportunities in revitalizing urban centers, focusing on strategies which build equity for both existing and new residents. The first two scholars demonstrate that anti-gentrification policies must go hand in hand with innovative economic development opportunities for community members, allowing both low- and high-income people to continue to live and work in their neighborhoods. Glanville (2013) examines the challenge of displacement among low-income communities because of gentrification, arguing that while increasing the quantity of low-income housing plays an important role in combating displacement, as was demonstrated by scholars in the previous section, anti-displacement strategies are more successful when they include an economic development component. Krumholz

(1999) adds to the literature by examining non-traditional economic development strategies that drive long-term downtown revitalization while also decreasing economic disparities in urban centers, an issue that pervaded economic development projects during the 1980s and 1990s. The following three scholars pay particular attention to the changing retail environments of downtown urban centers. Pope (2018) argues that today's emerging retail environments are no longer successful when they focus only on meeting the daily needs of consumers because online retail satisfies that market. Instead, Pope says that successful downtown economies

must strive to develop niche markets which offer services and experiences that cannot be obtained online. Ryan (2018) emphasizes Pope's findings by demonstrating how ten different types of retail stores may combine to offer the unique kinds of retail environments necessary to survive in the contemporary urban center. Grand and Perrott (2011) further examine what makes retail environments successful in contemporary urban centers, warning that mixed-use retail developments face real challenges, specifically by encouraging an oversupply of retail space, which can decrease the likelihood of businesses staying open. Finally, Stern and Seifert (2010) argue that cultural assets at the neighborhood level also play an important role in driving communities economies, in addition to having other benefits that are not purely economic, such as improved quality of life. Collectively, these scholars demonstrate both the possibilities and challenges of long term and equity-driven economic development in revitalizing city centers, offering useful suggestions for future development.

Glanville examines anti-displacement initiatives in strong- and soft-market cities across the United States that are facing gentrification pressures (e.g. Cleveland, the Anacostia neighborhood in Washington D.C., Portland, and San Francisco). Strong-market cities refer to cities where housing demand and housing prices are high because there are more buyers than sellers. Soft-market cities, on the other hand, refer to cities where housing demand and

housing prices are lower, since there are more sellers than buyers. Glanville defines displacement as the forced relocation of often long-term, low-income, and minority residents from neighborhoods that undergo redevelopment. While Glanville argues that traditional anti-displacement initiatives have relied on strategies to increase the supply of low-income housing in rapidly gentrifying neighborhoods, Glanville also argues that anti-displacement strategies that incorporate an economic development component can also help to combat displacement. For example, Glanville cites how the Association of Bay Area Governments in San Francisco provides funding to cities that attract and retain minority-owned businesses, provide business support services to business owners that live in gentrifying neighborhoods, and/or face both residential and commercial displacement pressures. Glanville argues that such efforts provide one example of how cities are relying on economic development tools to mitigate displacement pressures, rather than merely increasing the supply of low-income housing.

Glanville's discussion of anti-displacement strategies is relevant to the Client given that the two mill redevelopment projects in the West End neighborhood are expected to drive gentrification pressures in the area. As the Client considers how to mitigate expected displacement pressures in the neighborhood, they should

consider Glanville's suggestion that anti-displacement strategies that focus exclusively on preserving or creating low-income housing may miss the mark. Instead, the city should consider applying for grants that support workforce development or business support services in the West End neighborhood—a strategy that aims to strengthen economic development activity and that may help to reduce displacement pressures among existing residents in the neighborhood.

Krumholz (1999) argues that although large scale real estate development projects were celebrated for driving downtown revitalization during the 1980s and 1990s, these projects also resulted in increased economic disparities in urban areas. Krumholz claims that alternative progressive economic development strategies better drive long-term downtown revitalization and decrease economic disparities in urban centers. Krumholz then analyzes various alternative economic development strategies utilized in five major cities in the 1980s and 1990s: Boston, MA; Cleveland, OH; Oakland, CA; Jersey City, NJ; and Chicago, IL. Through his analysis of those strategies, Krumholz promotes economic development activities such as city partnerships with community development corporations, public-private linkage agreements, and policies focused on creating local employment opportunities. In conclusion, he draws out three main recommendations for equitable downtown revitalization. First, cities should prioritize public investment

(specifically in education) over private real estate speculation. Second, cities must identify their own market niche and solicit complimentary development projects instead of welcoming all large-scale development proposals. Finally, cities must address redistributive issues directly through local policy, emphasizing policies which support and promote the City's most marginalized communities.

Krumholz's analysis lays the groundwork for subsequent literature which advances his argument that downtown revitalization is most effective in reducing economic disparities when it is based in equitable policy. Sheridan (2017) builds on Krumholz argument by stating

that successful long-term economic development strategies must include the City's marginalized communities. Sheridan cites several contemporary examples of cities utilizing variations of the alternative economic development strategies that Krumholz promotes. For example, Sheridan describes a current sports arena development project in Washington D.C. Regarding this project, the Urban Land Institute's Global Chief Executive Office, Patrick L. Phillips says, "The key is making sure that those who are living alongside this new development benefit as much as those who move to it" (Sheridan, 2017). Sheridan also includes remarks from Mayor Sam Liccardo of San Jose, CA, who says that the city is investing over \$1 billion in affordable housing over the next 20 years who says the city is investing over \$1 billion in affordable housing over the next 20 years to counter the rapid economic growth driven by the City's tech industry. These examples demonstrate that Krumholz's arguments remain relevant, and his recommendations continue to be employed by city planners today.

Chicopee's West End neighborhood is a diverse community with a large proportion of low-income renters, a population particularly vulnerable to poverty and displacement. In developing economic and housing development plans which promote both diversity and increased economic activity, it will be critical to rely on Krumholz's alternative economic development recommendations to ensure that West End residents can

continue to live and thrive in their community. Given the large scale private re-development of the mills, CCP recommends that the Client focus on public investment, rooted in an identified niche market area. The city should be selective in welcoming development which aligns with the goals of that niche market development. The city should also consider introducing policies that are aimed specifically at supporting and protecting the City's large low-income renter population. Krumholz's analysis will provide important examples to consider in expanding these recommendations.

Pope examines the impacts of online shopping on the local retail environments of three small cities (Athens, OH; Greenfield, MA; Huntsville, TX). She then highlights the steps those cities have taken to address the impacts. Pope says the largest impact of increased online shopping is the loss of local sales tax revenue, which translates to fewer dollars for investment into public projects. In addition, she finds that online shopping has a negative impact on small business economies in general, which means fewer jobs, less foot traffic, and depressed local economies. To address these challenges, these cities have used creative economic development strategies to promote vibrant downtown centers.

Pope's analysis provides useful examples of these creative strategies. In Athens, OH, the city has carved out a niche in its local food economy. With craft breweries,

distilleries, wineries, farmers markets, and festivals, Athens draws residents in with offerings and experiences they cannot obtain online. Greenfield, MA has used a similar strategy, aiming to inject its downtown core with services not available online. Instead of food, Greenfield has focused on community health and medical services. Greenfield has also updated its zoning bylaws to promote mixed uses in its downtown and invested in a downtown parking garage. In Huntsville, TX, the city uses events and special promotions to draw people into downtown. For example, Huntsville supports programs like Small Business Saturday, Small Business Month, and a Main Street Program. The city has seen a boost in local sales as a result.

The West End neighborhood might also suffer from the impacts of online shopping, which will likely siphon local sales tax revenue and challenge the small business economy downtown. In order to address those challenges, the city will need to develop a niche market downtown, making it a unique retail space which offers products or experiences that cannot be obtained online. The West End may also benefit from expanding its already successful community events program, offering additional events throughout the year that will bolster sales at downtown retail stores. Implementing monthly programs that promote small businesses will also be useful, such as the Small Business Month program. Like Greenfield, MA, the West End neighborhood will also need to address its zoning bylaws

and parking challenges to make downtown accessible.

Ryan examines how 10 differently-themed retail stores from different cities can help to encourage vibrant downtown areas. These ten different themes include lifestyle and wellness, community gathering, local heritage, entertainment, local arts, education, community and global perspective, gift store, unique destination and neighborhood-serving. For the entertainment use, like lifestyle and wellness retail stores, Ryan examines a kitchen shop in Winnsboro, TX, which allows shoppers to take evening cooking classes. Winnsboro also attracts people from Dallas to visit to the surrounding businesses

including a nearby spa and cafe. For the community social activity, Ryan demonstrates that a coffee shop in downtown Superior, WI, not only serves coffee, but also promotes the arts, serving as a gathering place for organizing community events and local activism. For the culture-oriented retail stores, Ryan uses an art store in downtown Champaign, IL as the example, stating that this store collects more than 180 art pieces from national and local artists. In addition to selling art, the store serves as a gallery and art-education hub where local people can learn more about the arts. For the neighborhood-serving retailers, Ryan cites a meat market in Garden City, NY, which offers door-to-door delivery service throughout the city. This market provides neighborhood conveniences, in addition to supporting food access and quality of life.

For the Client, Ryan's arguments are helpful in developing recommendations around revitalizing the West End community as a retail center. Ryan indicates that restaurants are a key component to bringing people back downtown and can contribute to a vibrant retail center. He argues that once people are drawn in by the restaurant scene, they may stay and extend their commercial activities into the night. Therefore, the city may consider encouraging a partnership between a developer and a business owner to bring a new restaurant into downtown. The city may draw on its rich cultural heritage to consider working with a business owner to open a unique ethnic food restaurant

that could draw people from across the region. This development could be a vacant structure renovation, or a new building on a vacant lot. In addition, Chicopee lacks services around healthy living, including a gym or a health food store. The city may consider both of these in the West End. Finally, the Client may consider a retail shop that celebrates local heritage and history in Chicopee. For example, Ryan highlights a handmade clothing store in Willimantic, CT, which draws people in who are interested in learning about the history of textile manufacturing, while being able to purchase unique handmade clothes. The Client could benefit from adding retail that celebrates Chicopee's own manufacturing history to its downtown.

Grant and Perrott (2011) ask what challenges retailers located in mixed-use developments face in three suburban cities in Canada including Calgary, Alberta; Markham, Ontario; and Surrey, British Columbia. To examine this question, the authors review policy and planning documents on mixed-use development for each of the cities and conduct interviews and field surveys with planners, developers, and council members in these cities. They find that mixed-use development has encouraged an oversupply of retail space in mixed-use developments and as a result, retailers face increasing difficulty in staying open. In addition, they find that retail stores that open before the residential population moves into the mixed-use development tend to struggle in the face of insufficient

demand.

Grant and Perrott's study adds value to the existing literature on mixed-use development, most of which has focused on highlighting its positive benefits: encouraging infill development, increasing neighborhood walkability, and improving public health outcomes (Cervero, 1989; Grant, 2002; Leyden, 2003). Yet instead, Grant and Perrott paint a more nuanced picture of mixed-use development in highlighting potential negative side effects: retail businesses in mixed-use buildings often face multiple viability challenges, such as competition with other big-box retailers in the neighborhood and insufficient customer demand.

Grant and Perrott's findings are relevant to the Client because they point to potential business challenges associated with mixed-use development in the West End. Since the Client is considering mixed-use development downtown, the department should first conduct a market analysis analyzing what are the specific business and service needs of existing and future West End neighborhood residents. In doing so, the Client will gain a more in-depth understanding of service demands in the area and be able to use this information to incentivize particular businesses to move into the area. In ensuring that future businesses more adequately meet projected need and demand, this approach might help to overcome some of the business viability challenges that Grant and Perrott outline.

Stern and Seifert (2010) argue that culture can drive

urban revitalization by encouraging residents to become more engaged community members. The authors explain two types of cultural centers in urban spaces: planned cultural districts and organic cultural clusters. Planned cultural districts are cultural centers developed purposefully through city planning, public policy, and economic incentives (i.e. planning a neighborhood around the construction of a theater or performance venue). Organic cultural clusters are urban spaces where artists, activists, cultural workers, and entrepreneurs independently settle, naturally drawing similar types to the area. In their study area fofofPhiladelphia,

of Philadelphia, Stern and Seifert examine concentrations of cultural assets in organic cultural clusters throughout the city in order to understand how access to cultural amenities are affected by factors like income.

Stern and Seifert examine the cultural assets of cultural clusters by grouping them into four categories: number of nonprofit cultural providers, regional participation rate, commercial cultural firms, and resident artists. Stern and Seifert relate this information to census block data using geographic information systems to create a Cultural Asset Index that relates cultural clusters to neighborhood characteristics such as median household income, race and ethnicity, and educational attainment.

Through their Cultural Asset Index, the authors found that agglomeration of cultural assets benefits neighborhoods in ways that are not purely economic. Residents of neighborhoods with high levels of cultural clustering were more likely to cross-participate in other community activities such as local government, community volunteer projects, or neighborhood events. In addition, residents of neighborhoods with high levels of cultural clustering were more likely to rate their neighborhoods' quality of life as excellent compared to residents living in areas with a lower presence of cultural clustering.

Previous research on cultural centers in communities has been primarily focused on planned cultural districts. This is particularly true for economic development planning

efforts in post-industrial cities (Port Authority of New York and New Jersey 1983; New England Council 2000).

Economic impact assessments for large-scale arts projects intended to stimulate these economies have found that top-down, planned projects are economically unjustified (Seaman 1987; Sterngold 2004), leading many researchers to support organic cultural clustering over planned cultural districts (Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley, 2002). Stern and Seifert's research supports these claims by demonstrating the range of benefits that residents of organic cultural clusters experience.

Stern and Seifert's findings are relevant to the Client because they present a potential strategy for CCP to use in examining the West End's existing cultural assets. By creating an inventory of the neighborhood's nonprofit cultural providers, regional participation rates, commercial cultural firms, and resident artists, and combining this inventory with information collected from the stakeholder interviews, CCP may assess the degree of cultural clustering in the West End. In addition, this literature supports the idea that Chicopee should promote organic cultural clustering in the West End as a tool for promoting local economies, as well as community engagement.

By analyzing the literature, it becomes clear that developing a vibrant local economy is a nuanced process. According to Glanville and Krumholz, diverse neighborhoods which support people with a range of

income levels are only possible when anti-gentrification policies are coupled with innovative economic development strategies. For example, they suggest strategies which create job opportunities for a wide range of people with varying education and skill levels. For Pope, Ryan, and Grant and Perrott, it is critical to also contend with the shifting retail environments of local economies. They argue that vibrant downtowns must hone in on a City's unique interests and needs, and build a retail environment which responds to those. Finally, Seifert argues that vibrant local economies may also be promoted and supported by the non-economic community assets which can also drive development, including cultural and arts attractions. By relying on this analysis, we can identify the various components of a vibrant and sustainable downtown economy, which will need to be cultivated in the West End.

Preparing for an Aging Population

This section emphasizes the importance of including aging adults in our visions for vibrant and healthy communities. The scholars in this section recognize the importance of providing both services, as well as a sense of community, to adults as they age. The literature discusses a plethora of creative opportunities being explored across the country to meet the needs of aging adults. McIlwain (2011) suggests that while there are a wide array of benefits for empty-nesters and elderly people aging in urban centers,

such as access to healthcare and transportation, there are also significant challenges, including social isolation and mobility. Richardson (2018) also cites the benefits of "aging in place," or "the ability to live in one's own home and community safely and independently as one ages" (Morley, 2012), offering specific recommendations around how housing units may be updated to accommodate such lifestyles. Graham, Scharlach, and Kurtovich (2018) criticize the supposed connection between aging in place and increased social connection, arguing that aging in place may build social cohesion

initially, but may lead to a decreased sense of community over time. On the other hand, Verde (2018) suggests that co-housing may be an alternative solution for community-driven aging in place, arguing that the communal governance structure and intentionality of co-housing communities is beneficial to aging senior citizens. Collectively these articles demonstrate the importance of including aging adults in urban revitalization plans, most notably highlighting the critical need for senior citizens to have access to the amenities they need as they age, in addition to a broader sense of belonging in their community.

McIlwain states that increasingly, aging adults are choosing to live in cities over suburban or rural communities. McIlwain argues that cities more naturally support the needs of aging adults, often offering easier access to public transportation, health care, and other amenities. He also argues that senior citizens have a lot to offer cities: seniors are generally wealthier than other urban populations which contributes to the tax base of the city, they generally tend to have low crime rates, and they are often active in volunteering, as well as in civic life including voting. Therefore, McIlwain argues that cities must actively support the ability for seniors to age in urban communities. He says this is done through a combination of “hardware” and “software” solutions. Hardware solutions include the physical design of the urban landscape (i.e. keeping public

spaces clean and well lit, ensuring cross walks provide ample time to cross the street, ensuring access to reliable public transportation, providing ample senior accessible housing options), while software solutions refer to social programs that support seniors (i.e. employment opportunities, health care and elderly support services, effective communication systems to reach seniors, events targeted for senior populations).

McIlwain relies on a guide produced by the Global Network of Age-Friendly Cities (GNAFC) to present additional solutions for supporting the ability for aging adults to live out their lives in urban spaces. GNAFC is a network of 35 cities throughout the world that have committed to making their city age-friendly. Their guide presents 8 categories that they consider essential for building an age-friendly city: outdoor spaces and buildings; transportation; housing; social participation; respect and social inclusion; civic participation and employment; communication and information; and community support and health services. While McIlwain states these categories are essential, he adds that their solutions are incomplete. He argues that Universal Design should be considered an important component for including the needs of the elderly in urban planning. Universal Design is “a set of principles intended to guide the design and development of the entire built environment, both public and private” (McIlwain, 2011). He also points out that senior

housing must be located near public transportation, which is not mentioned in the GNAFC guide. Finally, he argues that it is critical to include “third spaces” in planning for senior citizens, meaning indoor and outdoor places for senior citizens to congregate and spend time together.

Aging in place was identified by the Client as an important goal for the revitalization of the West End neighborhood. McIlwain’s arguments are critical in planning for a senior citizen-friendly West End. In order to realize those goals, the Client should consider McIlwain’s recommendations. For example, the city should ensure that sidewalks and pathways are clean, well-lit and are wide enough for those with disabilities to navigate without difficulty. In addition, the city should consider creating both indoor and outdoor places for seniors to congregate. In developing a comprehensive plan, Chicopee may also consider using Universal Design techniques to plan more broadly for an elderly-friendly city. By following these suggestions, as well as those additional solutions presented by the GNAFC guide, the Client will move towards its goal of making Chicopee a good city to age in place.

Richardson also discusses “aging in place,” describing it as the conscious decision of an aging adult to live in their residence of choice through the end of their life by accessing support services or accommodations within their community that are necessary for supporting this lifestyle. Richardson identifies inexpensive home additions

that address the lack of elderly-friendly housing throughout the nation. First, Richardson recommends residents invest in smart-home products, including cameras, sensors, thermostats, and door locks. These electronic tools provide protection and alert local medical services in the case of medical trouble. Second, the National Institute on Aging recommends that residents fall -proof their homes by adding handrails and modifying the front entranceway to minimize half-height steps. Widening doorways to 36-inches to accommodate walkers is another essential step. Bathroom renovations can be costly, but are essential, as Richardson explains bathroom floors are the second highest location for accidents. Stairs are the highest location for accidents. Installing handrails is the

highest location for accidents. Stairs are the highest location for accidents. Installing handrails is the low-cost option, ideally alongside the shower and near the toilet. Swapping the bathtub completely for a walk-in shower, while expensive, is the best option in Snell's opinion. Finally, Richardson warns that even with modifications, some house designs are not ideal for aging in place, particularly those that are two or more stories.

The Client has identified aging in place as an important component of revitalization in the West End. While many of these modifications require homeowner initiation, the city of Chicopee has the opportunity to start community-driven programs to fix many of these elements. Installing handrails, which is a relatively cheap solution, could be provided through a community-funded program. However, more extensive repairs may require the Client to utilize federal funding from the Americans with Disabilities Act. Finally, simple modifications to Chicopee's interior building code (regulating step height and door length) may be the first step in creating housing that serves the aging population while meeting the character of the neighborhood.

Graham, Scharlach, and Kurtovich investigate whether retirement villages increase resident's level of confidence around aging in place, social connectedness, and health, in order to understand if the village model is a successful alternative to other elderly care solutions.

Retirement villages are member-organized communities of aging adults, which focus on allowing senior citizens to avoid forced moves or institutionalization by providing social engagement, civic engagement, and support services (i.e. transportation, housekeeping, health and wellness management) within the village cluster. In order to better understand whether the village model increases resident confidence levels around their ability to age in place, Graham, Scharlach, and Kurtovich conducted a 12-month longitudinal study of seven retirement villages throughout northern, central, and southern California.

To investigate resident opinions, Graham et al. surveyed 222 (n=128, 58% response rate) village members from the seven villages on two separate occasions, asking them to answer questions relating to social cohesion, health, and confidence. Respondents in this study were primarily white, English-speaking, financially secure, educated, and in good health when joining the village. With regard to social connectedness, Graham et al. found that after one year of village dwelling, residents had an increased perception of their social connectedness, despite their number of the social interactions decreasing. Graham et al. suggests that this finding might be because of the ceiling effect, or a sense of overwhelming connectivity upon first joining a village, "which slowly declines as connections with non-village friends and members decline over time" (Graham, 2018, p. 325). In addition, Graham et

al. state a major limitation of their study; questions did not measure the quality of social connectedness. With regard to health, Graham et al. found that while a third of village residents reported feeling that their health had gotten better since moving to the village, the number of medical service calls increased. The authors suggest that this could be related to increased access to medical services, meaning residents are able to obtain services they were previously in need of, but unable to access.

Graham et al.'s study is useful for the Client because it concludes that the village model should be seen as an innovative model for senior citizens wishing to plan ahead for aging in place. By working to increase perceptions and confidence levels around social connection and health, the village model helps senior citizens get familiar with the idea of aging in place, and gain confidence in their ability to remain in their community as they continue to age. The authors go on to say that the village model may be ideal for people aged 55+ or active senior citizens, who will benefit from the increased confidence around aging place from a younger age, and therefore be more likely to age in their community. Because the Client has identified the 55+ and active senior citizen population as a target demographic for the West End, they may consider the village model in their community development strategy.

Initially designed in Copenhagen in the 1970s, co-housing communities are homes clustered together around

shared communal areas. Residents enjoy the privacy of their own home, while also benefiting from weekly shared meals in a communal kitchen, shared responsibility of maintaining outdoor space, and a wider sense of community. Verde examines several co-housing communities in Amherst, MA; Denver, CO; and Boulder, CO. Verde says that older people find co-housing to be a good option for downsizing into a home where they can age in place among a community. As an alternative to retirement homes, Verde says the communal governance structure and intentionality of co-housing communities is critical to warding off the isolation and loneliness that negatively impacts the health of many senior citizens in the United States.

The West End has an aging population with over 30% of the population over the age of 55. The city has identified senior housing as a priority in the neighborhood as it prepares for an influx in older residents. Co-housing could offer a good alternative, particularly for keeping West End residents in their own neighborhood as they age, promoting the idea of aging in place. By integrating a co-housing community into the West End, the Client will help promote continued access to the services and amenities in the downtown, in addition to the social and health benefits of community-oriented living.

Including aging adults in our community planning process is critical. The literature demonstrates that the most important components to consider are the specific services that senior citizens require, along with their ability to remain engaged and present in their communities and with their families through the end of their lives. McIlwain and Richardson state that cities must support senior homeowners to make updates to existing structures that make them senior-friendly. Graham, Scharlach, and Kurtovich and Verde suggest that cities should consider alternative community-oriented senior housing, including retirement villages and co-housing developments. Together these scholars demonstrate that equitable revitalization requires inclusion of the community's senior population, and that senior citizens require access to specific services and design techniques which help them age in the

community. By providing support for these services and designs, the Client can ensure that the West End's senior population is prepared to remain in the West End as they age.

Tools and Techniques for Equitable Land Use

In order to implement the ideas and practices to guide equitable community development, scholars rely on specific tools and techniques in the planning profession. Some scholars look to policies and practices, such as Faulk (2006), who argues that downtown revitalization can be supported through specific actions including the establishment of a multi-stakeholder committee to guide revitalization, as well as prioritizing the rehabilitation of large vacant buildings. Spivak (2018) also says that certain practices can promote equitable downtown development, arguing that by reducing parking requirements for developers cities can promote the construction of low and middle income multi-family housing that may not have been financially feasible before.

Others look to zoning regulation, such as Homsey and Abrams (2015), who examine the usefulness of incentive zoning, a tool used to exchange loosened zoning restrictions on developers for public benefits associated with a proposed private project. Huguen and Read (2017) discuss form-based code to determine whether this alternative to land-use zoning can stimulate development.

Other scholars look at various development trends to understand how they impact equitable outcomes in urban revitalization. Moos, Vinadrai, Revington, and Seasons (2018) argue that mixed-use development, while desirable in revitalizing neighborhoods, may drive up housing costs and displace low-income residents. Kim (2016) examines whether urban infill may promote the development of mixed-income neighborhoods because infill may promote gentrification. Collectively, these articles demonstrate the wide variety of policies and practices available to guide land use, illuminating the complexity of developing a thriving downtown neighborhood that remains accessible to a wide variety of residents.

Faulk argues that downtown decline and subsequent revitalization is an incremental process. He examines this history through a literature review where he discusses effective policies and projects for downtown revitalization in small cities. Faulk presents an 8-step model outlining the downtown development process from the decline of residential, retail, and commercial spaces through the revitalization of contemporary mixed-use centers. Faulk applies this model to two cities (Jeffersonville, IN and New Albany, IN) where he discusses how various urban policies have impacted the effectiveness of each City's downtown revitalization. Faulk argues that several policies and practices make downtown revitalization successful. These include: the establishment of an organization dedicated

solely to advancing the goals of downtown revitalization, identifying and enhancing the strengths of the existing downtown, prioritizing the rehabilitation of large vacant buildings, and understanding the unique needs of the city.

Faulk's arguments around effective downtown revitalization are supported by other scholars. Moe and Wilke (1999) also argue that the rehabilitation of large-scale vacant properties in downtown is essential to broader downtown revitalization efforts and often serve as the impetus for establishing a downtown revitalization plan. Burayidi (2001) argues that small cities are unique from large cities, and therefore small cities must rely on a different set of policies and

different set of policies and practices. Burayidi emphasizes several policies which Faulk also supports, including the importance of local funding for downtown programs, including diverse stakeholders in the downtown revitalization planning process, and promoting both physical and economic renewal of the downtown landscape.

While Faulk's analysis focused on a small sample size of two cities, which were both located in Indiana, his recommendations around promoting downtown revitalization in small cities is useful in developing a housing and economic development plan for Chicopee's West End. Based on his recommendations, the Client may consider establishing and convening a multi-stakeholder committee dedicated to overseeing the downtown revitalization process. This group would be responsible for identifying the strengths and challenges of the West End neighborhood, creating goals for revitalization, and developing metrics for measuring progress. With the impending mill development and changes to the downtown fabric, it will be critical for neighborhood stakeholders and residents to feel empowered in guiding the revitalization process in collaboration with the mill developer.

Spivak (2018) discusses how reducing or eliminating parking requirements for new development projects can help to incentivize development in high density areas. Spivak examined the City of Minneapolis where planners reduced the parking requirement from 1 parking space per

unit to .5 parking space per unit. Planners also eliminated minimum parking requirements for projects with less than 50 units located near high frequency transit. Developers were able to create new projects that offered lower rents due to the fact that parking spaces were no longer included in the construction costs. In addition, lowering or eliminating parking requirements for projects allowed for more infill projects in Minneapolis to be built with lower monthly rents, leading to a more financially accessible housing market for a wider range of earners.

Spivak also highlights how cities such as Buffalo, NY and Hartford, CT have begun to use reduced parking requirements in their zoning code with positive results. The City of Buffalo completely removed any parking requirements for developments with less than 5,000 square - feet, and Hartford removed all parking requirements for residential development. In Lexington, KY, the city removed minimum parking requirements for a new shopping center corridor and instead used the required parking area for multi-family housing. Spivak explains that many cities are beginning to de-emphasize car-oriented development for projects located near mass transit areas, and as a result, the development becomes more affordable.

Spivak's article is relevant to the Client because it demonstrates that development can be spurred by reducing parking requirements. The Client has stated that parking is an issue in the West End neighborhood, where

ample parking exists, but is privately owned and operated, creating the impression that there is not enough parking in the neighborhood. In addition, the Client has identified the need for developing diverse housing options in the West End, which includes multi-family housing. Restrictive parking requirements have prohibited developers from investing in multi-family housing in the past. If the City can reduce some of its parking requirements, or give developers an opportunity to reduce or share already existing parking spaces, rents in the area could potentially be lowered. Affordable multi-family housing is a priority in the West End neighborhood, and any new development that is built without parking space minimums might be more affordable. Therefore, the Client should consider updating its existing zoning code to facilitate new development with more minimal parking requirements.

Homsey and Abrams examine the presence of incentive zoning policies as a regulatory planning technique in municipal governments in the United States, as well as factors that contribute to successful incentive zoning policies. Incentive zoning is a relaxation of developmental zoning restrictions in exchange for public benefits that are associated with the proposed private project. Focusing on New York, the state which pioneered incentive zoning in 1961, the authors examine a 2013 survey of incentive zoning bylaws in New York towns, as well as a 2010 national survey of incentive zoning ordinances conducted by the

International City Management Association (ICMA). The authors found that about 18% of communities across the United States offer incentive zoning programs to developers (17.2% in New York State, 18.9% throughout the country). Of these communities, 33% use incentive zoning to guide density requirements, including the preservation of open space and low income housing. In addition, roughly 29% of communities use incentive zoning to reduce the permitting process to promote rapid development. Overall, Homsey and Abrams find that successful incentive zoning policies rely on three important factors: developmental demand, standardized planning process, and an understanding of developmental costs. Homsey and Abrams also identify some challenges related to incentive zoning. For example, the authors identify that a lack of development in the area can make extra developmental burdens unrealistic and that there can be a lack of public support for regulations. In addition, the authors cite that another challenge relates to how much negotiation should occur within incentive zoning agreements. While negotiations might allow a developer to understand the justification behind extra developmental demands, a fixed menu of options has the potential to standardize the developmental process within a community.

incentive zoning policies rely on three important factors: developmental demand, standardized planning process, and an understanding of developmental costs.

Homsey and Abrams also identify some challenges related to incentive zoning. For example, the authors identify that a lack of development in the area can make extra developmental burdens unrealistic and that there can be a lack of public support for regulations. In addition, the authors cite that another challenge relates to how much negotiation should occur within incentive zoning agreements. While negotiations might allow a developer to understand the justification behind extra developmental demands, a fixed menu of options has the potential to standardize the developmental process within a community.

With the Cabotville and Lyman Mill development projects underway or in store for Chicopee's West End community, incentive zoning is a potential technique which CCP may suggest to combat a variety of issues in the neighborhood, including access to low income housing, density requirements, and access to open space. Since the city of Chicopee has a limited number of funding resources, requiring developers to supplement private projects with related items that could benefit the community as a whole might be a useful tool to successfully transform the neighborhood.

Form-based code regulates the exterior physical design of a building rather than the land-use found

beneath a building. Huguen and Read examined whether form-based code encourages new development by using a real option theoretical model to evaluate the potential economic effects of form-based code in two different regulatory environments: one that uses form-based code and one that uses traditional land-use zoning that permits mixed-use development. Using this real option model, Huguen and Read found that form-based code may stimulate development in weak and volatile markets, but form-based code may not stimulate a greater diversity of real estate mixes than traditional zoning regulations. Regardless of zoning code, the least favorable environments for creating mixed-uses were very weak markets and markets where single use development remains the most profitable option. The latter effect was amplified when marginal revenues remained constant, regardless of the residential or commercial mix present in a development.

Huguen and Read's findings add a nuanced perspective to a discussion that increasingly supports form-based code. According to Talen (2005), form-based code is growing in popularity among planners and economic developers working for local governments. Because form-based code only regulates the exterior of a structure, and not the use of the building, it provides more flexibility to developers, which Talen says promotes economic development. Ramirez de la Cruz (2009) also reports that

form-based code expands on opportunities for private-sector developers, rather than restricting land where they can develop, thus spurring development. Geller (2010) adds to the literature supporting the advantages of form-based code over traditional land-use zoning, arguing that communities that implement form-based code reduce levels of crime in low-income neighborhoods by integrating housing mixes into predominantly commercial districts. Additionally, form-based code fosters street activity by encouraging the creation of public spaces through design regulation (Geller, 2010).

Hughen and Read's findings are useful because the Client is interested in creating a regulatory environment in the West End that allows for mixed-use development. Hughen and Read provide insight into the role that form-based code could play in this process by highlighting the opportunities and limitations of form-based code. CCP will consider the merits of implementing both form-based code and other types of regulations in the West End neighborhood if mixed-use development is the objective, with particular attention to market demand conditions present in the regional housing market.

Moos, Vinadrai, Revington, and Seasons state that mixed-use zoning has been widely advocated within the planning field as an ideal tool for increasing density, promoting walkable neighborhoods, encouraging economic development, and creating vibrant and diverse

neighborhoods. But, they argue that research has failed to interrogate how mixed-use zoning impacts 1) housing affordability in general and 2) housing affordability among residents with different occupations living in mixed-use zones. In order to investigate this research question, Moos et al. use data from the Canadian Census of Population to examine how housing costs have changed for residents with different occupations living in mixed-use zones compared to residents living in non-mixed-use zones. They focus on residents of Toronto between 1991 and 2006.

Moos et al. find that housing costs are higher in mixed-use areas compared to other parts of the city and

that residents in management, business, technical, or health-related occupations spent a lower proportion of their income on housing costs compared to residents in service, manufacturing, or blue-collar occupations. Moos et al. conclude that this trend suggests that as Toronto moved towards a more knowledge-intensive economy, mixed-use zones most benefited residents whose incomes allowed them to pay the higher housing costs associated with mixed-use development while disadvantaging residents in lower-paying occupations.

While Moos et al. fail to investigate other factors that impact one's ability to afford higher rent, such as educational attainment and income, their findings add value to the existing literature on mixed-use zoning in that they underscore the potential negative side effects of implementing mixed-use development projects. While most studies in the literature on mixed-use zoning focus on its positive benefits, such as improving walkability, public transportation use, infill development, and more diverse social interactions, few studies in the literature have focused on its negative impacts (Cervero, 1989; Grant, 2002). Instead, this study highlights that mixed-use zoning can level adverse economic impacts on individuals on the lower-end of the income distribution.

Although Moos et al. also caution that their findings are limited to Toronto, their findings are still relevant to the Client especially as they consider rezoning the West End

neighborhood as a mixed-use area. Moos et al.'s finding that mixed-use zoning poses housing cost disparities for residents of different occupations and income levels is particularly relevant for the West End neighborhood given that a) existing residents of the neighborhood are predominantly employed in lower-wage occupations and b) new residents moving into the market-rate units at the redeveloped mills are likely to occupy higher-wage jobs. In order to address this expected challenge, the Client may consider implementing policies that aim to stabilize the supply of low-income housing in the area, particularly for workers in service occupations. Inclusionary zoning or density bonuses attached to low-income housing development are examples of two tools that the Client might leverage to ensure that low-income housing is present in Chicopee, even as rental rates rise in the neighborhood. The Client may also want to consider how to address the other factors that impact whether people can afford higher rents, such as access to education.

Kim examines Orlando, Florida in order to ask the following research question: does urban infill development encourage the creation of mixed-income neighborhoods? Kim (2016) utilizes data from the Florida Department of Revenue, U.S. Census (2000, 1990), and American Community Survey (2005-2009) in an income diversity index (the Simpson Index) to measure the neighborhood's change in income diversity between 1990 and 2009. Kim

(2016) also conducts a cluster analysis using geographic information systems to measure relative concentration of infill development for the same years. According to Kim, in the case of gentrifying neighborhoods, new development created through infill is often market-rate housing which draws new residents that tend to have higher incomes than those currently living there. These new residents create income diversity, but tend to shift the neighborhood toward higher income levels. Kim recommends that more direct guidelines for infill should be implemented to encourage a broader range of housing prices in infill development, such as those in the HOPE VI program that require a mix of low-income and market rate rentals created at the same time as programs for economically distressed neighborhoods.

Related studies have focused on the benefits of and challenges caused by increased density in neighborhoods through mixed-use development. Many studies (Duany, Plater-Zyberk, & Speck, 2000; Pendall & Carruthers, 2003; Talen, 2006) have reported that increased density promotes social diversity and reduces spatial segregation in neighborhoods. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (1999, 2001, 2007) found that infill development in brownfield sites created environmental benefits by reducing average vehicular trip time within a neighborhood. Dale and Newman (2009) found that redeveloped brownfields may displace lower income residents, arguing that many initiatives that advance environmental sustainability do not

advance social sustainability, such as equity.

Kim's research is relevant to the Client because the city of Chicopee is interested in exploring mixed-use development as an outcome at the City's infill sites. Direct guidelines must be in place in Chicopee to encourage mixed-income development at infill sites in the West End, to ensure that the creation of both market rate and rental units coincide with programs to assist low-income households. A significant influx of high-income households and without programs to stabilize the neighborhood's low-income residents may shift the cost of living to such a degree that it could displace current low-income residents.

Understanding the methods available for implementing planning strategies is essential to the planner's ability to effect change. The scholars in this section suggest that equitable community development may be achieved through a combination of economic development policy and practices and land use regulation. Faulk argues that by engaging diverse stakeholders a city may develop an understanding of its unique needs, and drive an economic development strategy that meets them. Spivak argues that by reducing parking requirements associated with development, cities can help make it more feasible for developers to build multi-family housing.

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manner.

Conclusion

Planning for equitable downtown revitalization requires public and private investment in both diverse housing stock and robust economic development opportunities. In theory, these components combine to offer residents of all types affordable housing options, diverse employment opportunities, and access to desired services and amenities. The literature presented here demonstrates that these goals are lofty. Complex finance and governance structures complicate the ability for a city to build the diverse housing stock they may desire. In many cases, inability to provide diverse housing stock results in gentrification and displacement of low-income communities. In cases where residents are not displaced, gentrification still has significant negative impacts on existing residents. In addition, existing residents may not be served by policies which create low-income housing without also creating employment opportunities. And finally, aging adults are often left out of the plans all together.

Yet, the literature demonstrates that building inclusive and diverse communities is not solely an equation that is equalized by adding together housing diversity and economic opportunity. Instead, these scholars suggest that

equitable downtown revitalization relies on a nuanced and complex formula, which thrives through authentic inclusion and representation of the diverse residents of a neighborhood. They argue that it is only through the cultivation of a genuine feeling of belonging, which is driven by real decision-making power to have a say in the development of one's own neighborhood, that successful and equitable development takes place. Harvey (2008) describes this as "the right to the city, [which is] far more than the right of individual access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart's desire" (p. 272).

From the literature on understanding and preventing gentrification, CCP recommends engaging community members in the visioning and decision-making processes around the development of their own communities, which will decrease the likelihood for gentrification and displacement. From the literature on promoting housing diversity, CCP recommends pairing market rate housing development with low-income housing development, to ensure that diverse housing types are available. From the literature on creative economic development strategies, CCP recommends using innovative economic development strategies which create opportunities for both existing and new residents, while focusing on the development of a unique niche economy in the community. From the literature on preparing for an aging population, CCP

recommends including senior citizens in housing and revitalization plans by updating building codes to promote elderly-friendly development, thereby ensuring that senior citizens have a place in the future of the West End. And finally, from literature on tools and techniques for equitable land use, CCP recommends using creativity to update land-use regulations to promote mixed-use neighborhoods, while promoting policies which support employment opportunities and access to affordable housing for low-income people. While combining these suggestions in action is not simple, the literature provides ample proof that it is possible to work toward these goals, and suggests that it is critical to do so in community development plans moving forward.



Chapter 6: Precedent Studies

Introduction

CCP consulted several neighborhood and comprehensive plans of various cities and towns in order to understand how post-industrial cities have started to tackle housing and economic development-related issues in their own cities. In addition, CCP consulted LARP reports on previous public engagement efforts conducted by past studio groups in order to gain a better understanding of some of the existing challenges and assets in Chicopee. The following sections discuss the highlights from the reports that CCP consulted, including their recommendations and their relevance to our current project.

Comprehensive and Neighborhood Plans

Jackson Appleton Middlesex (JAM) Urban Revitalization and Development Project Lowell, MA (2001)

Background

The City of Lowell has engaged in a city-wide revitalization process since the 1970s. In 2001, Lowell published the Jackson Appleton Middlesex Urban Revitalization and Development Project report, which outlined a vision for future development in one of the City's most distressed neighborhoods.

Problem

In 2000, Lowell recognized that despite many advances and completed projects that have positively impacted the city, the Jackson Appleton Middlesex (JAM) street area of the city remains underdeveloped and in disrepair. In response, Lowell created the JAM Urban Revitalization and Development Project plan in 2000. The JAM plan targets the Jackson Appleton Middlesex area and recommends specific actions to help spur economic development.

Methods

The JAM plan is based on input from a 25-person Citizens Advisory Committee, comprised of representatives from local businesses, community organizations, residents, the National Park Service, and other city agencies. The report is also based on a thorough review of three site areas within the JAM target area. These sites include an industrial district called The Canals, an urban village district called Middlesex/Jackson, and a cityscape district called Appleton/Summer. The JAM plan provides a historical overview of each site, a description of assets and challenges, a review of the site's current status, and a proposed solution. These site reviews are based on historical data, spatial analysis, demographic data, and public input.

Recommendations

In the JAM report, the City of Lowell outlines a clear path forward for redevelopment, which will lead to increased economic investment in the area. The goals of the plan include updating the City's land-use and zoning regulations, transportation infrastructure, and economic incentives for private developers. In terms of land-use updates, the city proposes to purchase 18 acres of land and existing structures, which include 1 clearance area, 18 spot clearance sites, and 9 rehabilitation sites. The city also proposes updates to the zoning code in the JAM area, which would create a mixed commercial/residential area, with industrial uses confined to a distinct part of the neighborhood. The plan suggests that acting on these recommendations will help to create a development-ready district.

With regard to transportation infrastructure, the plan recommends increasing the quality of infrastructure as well as wayfinding for pedestrians. The city proposes pedestrian-friendly updates to curbs, sidewalks, and crosswalks. In addition, the plan recommends creating distinct pedestrian paths between major attractions in the area.

Finally, with regard to economic incentives, the plan proposes utilizing Massachusetts' Economic Development Incentive Program (EDIP) to provide public assistance to encourage private investment. Specifically, the program

would provide tax credits for abandoned properties, an investment tax credit for redevelopment, and a property tax relief on the increment between a property's existing and redevelopment property tax rate.

Relevance to Studio Project

There are clear parallels between the city of Chicopee and the City of Lowell, which make the plan particularly useful for informing the development of Chicopee's West End housing plan. Both Lowell and Chicopee are post-industrial mill cities and have a high quantity of aging historic structures. In both cases, the condition of existing structures is a major barrier to attracting developers. In addition, both cities face challenges around transportation infrastructure, including

challenges around transportation infrastructure, including confusing street patterns, deteriorating streets and sidewalks, and insufficient wayfinding for pedestrians. In both cities, these challenges deter residents from visiting the neighborhood on foot, inhibiting successful small business retention. Finally, both cities struggle with outdated zoning ordinances, which are incompatible with the mixed-use neighborhoods that residents desire.

For these reasons, Chicopee could benefit from considering the solutions outlined by the City of Lowell in the JAM plan. For example, Chicopee might consider rehabilitating structures in the West End neighborhood which are in disrepair. This would make space for new development and draw developers into the area. In addition, Chicopee could consider investing in a Complete Streets project, as well as a wayfinding project to help residents and visitors better navigate the downtown area. Together this could make the West End a more walkable, pedestrian-friendly neighborhood. Finally, Chicopee could update its zoning code to promote mixed-use development, which would support the kind of development that residents typically favor.

**City of Chelsea Comprehensive Housing
Analysis and Strategic Plan
Chelsea, MA (2017)**

Background

Published in 2017, the “City of Chelsea Comprehensive Housing Analysis and Strategic Plan” addresses Chelsea, Massachusetts’ continuous challenge of balancing the need for low-income housing production and renovation, while also encouraging new investment to create additional market-rate housing units. The report created by RKG Associates, Inc., JM Goldson, and Barrett Planning Group LLC examines present-day housing in Chelsea and proposes ways in which the city can realize its goals of creating and improving both low-income and market-rate units.

Problem

Chelsea has recently undergone a significant period of reinvestment largely due to its location just two miles north of Boston. Its location, improved transportation network, neighborhoods, and downtown make it an increasingly attractive place for developers. In terms of current housing conditions, the vast majority of people living in Chelsea are renters. There is a large inventory of apartments in Chelsea in a variety of multifamily structures, and a smaller amount of single-family, assisted living and long-term care residences. About half of all of Chelsea’s housing stock are two- and three-family homes. In this context, the city must balance how to meet the needs of

both low-income and market-rate housing units.

Recommendations

The plan identifies five major strategies that Chelsea should seek to accomplish their goal of balancing the need for low-income housing units while also creating additional market-rate units. The first strategy is to increase the City's homeownership rate. To accomplish this, the plan recommends that the city work with current owners of multifamily units to create opportunities for existing residents to purchase their units with down payment assistance or buydown grants. The report also recommends that the city should pursue opportunities to purchase two- and three-family units, renovate them, and then sell them to low-income homebuyers. Last, Chelsea should identify other homeownership programs in other regions of the country such as the Napa County Homeownership and Workforce Housing programs to gain a better understanding of how homeownership programs could be implemented in Chelsea.

The next strategy the Plan issues is to improve the quality, suitability and range of housing choices for low- and moderate-income people in Chelsea. One way the plan suggests that the City achieve this is through analyzing and reviewing the existing parking regulations for multifamily housing, comparing these regulations to the supply and demand of housing for these units and then modifying off-

street parking requirements based on this comparison. Next, the plan recommends that the city explore a replacement housing ordinance that applies to projects demolishing unrestricted low-income units and replacing them with higher-cost units. Last, the Plan recommends that the City works with owners of low-income housing units to ensure that they renew affordability restrictions.

The Plan's next strategy is to ensure fair access to housing opportunities in all neighborhoods for people of all income levels. One way the plan suggests accomplishing this is through supporting tenant advocates who work to ensure housing for protected classes. The next strategy that may help to ensure fair access is to create its first city-wide master plan. The last main recommendation was to complete a fair housing assessment, by comparing the City's regulations to HUD's Affirmatively Further Fair Housing regulations. The Plan also recommends that Chelsea aims to create and improve "deeply affordable rental housing for extremely low-income families, individuals, seniors, and people with disabilities." To accomplish this, Chelsea should use at least forty percent of their annual Community Preservation Act (CPA) funds toward creating very-low income housing. They should also leverage their CDBG funds in target areas where the City has identified need for additional "deeply affordable" housing. Last, the City should modify the IZ ordinance and provide subsidies for developers to further

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Relevance to Studio Project

The Chelsea Plan is relevant to our studio project because the report lists specific actions that a city should take if it currently has a high stock of low-income housing units and would like to bring more market-rate units into the area. Similar to Chelsea, Chicopee Center is mostly composed of rental homes and will be bringing new, market-rate development into the area soon. Since future affordability is a concern, the Chelsea report will help us to identify which of the recommended strategies may also

apply to the West End. For example, strategies that aim to increase the homeownership rate and improve the quality of the existing housing are particularly applicable to the West End because the West End is predominantly renters (80%) and the housing stock is considerably old (about 75% of structures were built before 1940).

Previous Reports on Chicopee

Chicopee West End Brownfields Area Wide Plan (2012)

Background

In 2012, the Pioneer Valley Planning Commission (PVPC), the city of Chicopee's Community Development Department and a group of urban planning, engineering, and economic development consultants partnered to develop a vision and implementation plan for revitalizing the West End neighborhood of Chicopee Center by remediating and redeveloping 15 identified brownfields sites.

Problem

Once a thriving commercial and industrial city center, Chicopee's West End neighborhood has been hollowed out by a decline in the manufacturing industry, resulting in the relocation of commercial businesses and the rerouting of traffic around the urban core. While the area is home to several public buildings including a fire department and post

office, as well as several parks and riverfront property, the area is mostly characterized today by high poverty rates, a vacancy rate more than double that of the rest of the city, and the perception that the area is not well cared for nor generally safe. By mitigating environmental concerns in the identified brownfield sites, the plan aims to guide the redevelopment and the rebranding of the neighborhood as an attractive and green place where residents can live, work, learn and play.

Methods

The Chicopee West End Brownfields Area Wide Plan suggests reuse scenarios for five focus sites. The report developed recommendations for these sites based on a review of the neighborhood and its existing characteristics; a market analysis; a public engagement strategy including five stakeholder meetings with local property owners, business representatives, and city officials; solicited comments from community members through a feedback form; and one-on-one interviews with local developers, property owners, and others.

Recommendations

To address the infrastructure challenges in the neighborhood, the Plan recommends that a new waterline is created through the Cabotville Mill area to ensure a reliable water supply. The Plan also suggests separating the

sewer and storm water overflow system. To address transportation issues, the Plan recommends that Front Street is widened to accommodate two-way traffic and that on-street parking is added. The Brownfields Plan also recommends that Low Impact Development (LID) techniques be considered in upcoming projects to increase groundwater infiltration and reduce stormwater runoff. To address the transportation issues, the Brownfields Plan states that two-way circulation would likely increase accessibility to downtown businesses and better link Chicopee to the regional transportation system but could result in increased traffic delays and reduced street parking. In terms of environmental concerns, the report recommends that environmental assessments should be conducted at each site to determine their contamination levels.

reduced on-street parking. In terms of environmental concerns, the report recommends that environmental assessments should be conducted at each site to determine their contamination levels. If the sites are found to have contamination, the report recommends that EPA Brownfield funds are used to clean up the sites.

In addition, the Brownfields Plan also offers reuse and restoration recommendations for the five focus areas that the project team identifies as having the greatest potential to spur the revitalization of the West End neighborhood. The five focus areas include a series of mill

buildings on Front Street, the site of the former Hampden Steam Plant and Delta Park, the Riverfront Property, the DPW garage (which houses the Chicopee Water Department), and the former Mobil Service Station near the entrance to I-391.

In terms of recommendations for the mills priority area, the Plan recommends that the Cabotville Mill complex and the former Lyman Company mill are redeveloped into mixed-use developments that include 1) flexible industrial space that supports technology-based companies, light manufacturers, and entrepreneurs and 2) loft-style apartments. To further improve the area, the Brownfields Plan proposes demolishing several buildings along Canal Street to open up the riverfront to the downtown and create more space for public amenities, such as a new pathway along the canal that would connect to the Chicopee Center Canal Walk. Possible sources of funding that similar projects have leveraged include grants from the Massachusetts Historical Commission, Massachusetts Housing Partnership, MassDevelopment, private banks, and an EPA Brownfields Cleanup Grant.

For the Hampden Steam Plant and Delta Park priority area, the Plan recommends that the area is dedicated to agricultural farming (perhaps “u-cut” Christmas trees) or energy farming (with ground-mounted photovoltaic panels or wind turbines).

With regard to the Riverfront Property priority area,

the Brownfields Plan recommends developing housing on the Riverfront Property given that the area has scenic views of the Connecticut River. The report also recommends encouraging recreational boating or establishing a commercial boating service along the Connecticut River.

The Brownfields Plan recommends several restoration scenarios for the former Mobil Service Station. Since the site is located at the entrance to Chicopee from I-391, the Brownfields Plan proposes converting the site into a gateway park or service plaza. The Brownfields Plan also recommends reaching out to regional institutions such as Baystate Medical Center or Elms College that might be interested in starting a commercial project on the site, given that it is located close to I-391. The Brownfields Plan also proposes installing an electric car charging station or a commercial business, such as a hardware store, on the site. Possible sources of funding include grants from the Massachusetts Department of Energy Resources.

Finally, with regard to the Chicopee Water Department garage priority area, the Brownfields Plan recommends redeveloping the Chicopee Water Department into a housing development or community garden. The Brownfields Plan argues that either use would complement the surrounding area since the Chicopee Water Department garage is currently located in the middle of a dense residential neighborhood. Similar projects have leveraged funding from an EPA Brownfield Assessment and Cleanup Grant.

Relevance to Studio Project

The Brownfields Plan is relevant to the West End Housing Plan because it outlines the challenges that the West End neighborhood currently faces, particularly with regard to its infrastructure, vehicular circulation, and environmental-related challenges. For example, the report describes the neighborhood's vehicular circulation as characterized by its network of one-way streets, which make it difficult for drivers to get to some downtown businesses. The Brownfields Plan also describes issues around parking; residents perceive that there is not enough parking, yet on a typical day, only 50% of the parking spaces are utilized. The West End neighborhood also contains a number of suspected contaminated sites due to their former industrial uses. These sites include the Cabotville and Lyman mills as well as additional privately and publicly owned parcels located throughout the West End. Therefore, the Brownfields Plan sheds light on current challenges facing the neighborhood and potential areas of intervention.

Drive, a 3.7-mile corridor located in Chicopee, MA.

Memorial Drive Revitalization (2014)

Background

In 2014 the city of Chicopee commissioned Hills House Planners (HHP), a group of master's students at the University of Massachusetts Amherst Regional Planning program, to develop a strategy for re-visioning Memorial

Drive, a 3.7-mile corridor located in Chicopee, MA.

The Problem

The Memorial Drive Revitalization Report focuses on identifying the present planning challenges along the Memorial Drive corridor, such as incompatible commercial and residential land uses, poor walkability and multi-modal transportation options, and the lack of “destination” entertainment options along the corridor. Using the tagline “Connecting the Pioneer Valley,” the Memorial Drive Revitalization Report highlights Chicopee’s potential to reclaim its position as a central crossroads between the northern and southern Pioneer Valley and as a destination spot where area residents travel for shopping and entertainment options.

Methods

Based on the historical and demographic background of the city, HHP developed a public engagement workshop with public officials and stakeholders, performed spatial analyses of the region, and reviewed literature and precedent studies. Findings from the public engagement workshop guided HHP’s recommendations.

Recommendations

HHP proposed segmenting the Memorial Drive

corridor into three sections: a more dense and walkable southern commercial district, a transitional commercial-residential district in the middle of the corridor, and a walkable residential neighborhood in the northern part of the corridor. HHP suggests six site-specific recommendations to implement this plan. These six specific plans address zoning, land-use, commercial development, vacancy and infill conditions, transportation, and green infrastructure.

To address zoning, land-use, and commercial development issues in the Memorial Drive area, HHP recommends introducing zoning ordinances that would allow commercial development to conform to a set standard, while also encouraging walkability and density along the corridor. To accomplish this, HHP suggests convening a diverse committee of planners, government representatives, developers, and civic associations, to explore the possibility of introducing a Commercial-Residential (CR) Zone to encourage more cohesion between the commercial and residential areas in the region. HHP also recommends adding screening provisions to the Chicopee zoning ordinance, which would require commercial properties to plant evergreen trees or shrubs in rows along their property lines to create a natural buffer from abutting residential properties. Finally, HHP suggests implementing a graduated zoning plan, facilitating land assembly among existing property owners to help

integrate vacant storefronts and greyfields along the Memorial Drive corridor.

To improve transportation and green infrastructure issues of the Memorial Drive corridor, HHP makes several recommendations to increase the walkability and density of the area. First, HHP recommends that the city implement green parking features such as permeable pavement, bioswales, and rain gardens in order to increase stormwater infiltration while improving the walkability of the site. Second, they recommend that future transportation planning along Memorial Drive adhere to MassDOT's 2014 Engineering Directive (E-14-001), which outlines specific criteria for sidewalk presence, sidewalk width, and bicycle accommodations along new roads or roads that receive improvements. HHP also recommends that future roads adhere to Complete Street guidelines to accommodate all modes of transportation.

Relevance to Studio Project

This plan is relevant to the current studio project because it outlines some of the physical design and planning challenges present in the city more broadly, which could potentially detract higher-income residents from moving into market-rate housing in the West End. A primary challenge for the West End as it prepares for the influx of residents moving into the redeveloped mills is ensuring that the neighborhood has amenities that will

attract and retain market-rate residents in the area (e.g. walkable, mixed-use neighborhoods, "destination" venues, and multi-modal transportation options).

With the Memorial Drive corridor as the current primary destination for shopping and entertainment in Chicopee, the city must consider how the challenges presented in this report could potentially detract market-rate residents from moving to Chicopee. In highlighting some of the physical design challenges along Memorial Drive, such as its non-cohesive look and the lack of "destination" venues along the corridor, the report suggests the need for a Comprehensive Plan, which would drive cohesive and synergistic development throughout Chicopee.

Open Space and Food Access in the city of Chicopee (2015)

Background

In fall 2015, the city of Chicopee partnered with PEACE Planners, a group of graduate students in the Regional Planning program at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, to develop a vision plan for increasing open space and food access in the city of Chicopee. The Client identified open space and food access as two challenges currently facing the City after conducting their own public engagement campaign in the city.

The Problem

Findings from Chicopee's Open Space and Food Access report indicated that Chicopee residents felt that they lacked access to fresh food and that the city lacked connectivity to outdoor spaces for walking and biking, as well as ample space for public recreation. Based on these findings, the Client asked PEACE Planners to create a vision plan for increasing food access and open space at three parcels in Chicopee called the Baskin Property (a 4.6-acre site with a vacant two-story brick warehouse), the RiverMills South property (a 28-acre city-owned property that is undergoing remediation and demolition), and the Delta Park property (a vacant 24-acre site located at the confluence of the Connecticut and Chicopee Rivers

separated from Chicopee Center by the I-391 highway).

Methods

In order to create a vision plan for each parcel, PEACE Planners conducted a public engagement campaign to guide their redevelopment recommendations. PEACE Planners conducted a community workshop where they asked residents to provide feedback on all three proposed sites, asking residents to consider what they liked and disliked about each property, as well as to propose ideas for each parcel's future development. In addition to the workshop, PEACE Planners hosted a stakeholder meeting at the Baskin Property aimed at engaging food systems experts around visions for the property.

Recommendations

Findings from the public engagement campaign indicated that residents thought that the Baskin Property would be a good place for a year-round farmers' market or community garden. In addition, PEACE Planners found that residents would like to see the RiverMills South property redeveloped to support indoor/outdoor recreation space and support outdoor river access at the site. In regard to the Delta Park site, participants saw a great deal of potential for the park to be used as an access site to the river for water recreation, fishing, and bird watching.

In response to this public engagement feedback,

PEACE Planners developed a vision plan for each site, including recommendations, an implementation schedule, and potential funding sources. At the Baskin Property, PEACE Planners recommended a three-phase strategy to improve access to fresh, culturally appropriate food for residents in Chicopee. PEACE Planners recommended that the site be used for a year-round farmers' market, a community garden, an incubator kitchen, or restaurant/brewery.

In their report, PEACE Planners recommend that phase one of implementation (start date to 6 months out) is based around capacity building, in which the City establishes a Chicopee Food Policy Council, a Farmers' Market Committee, and a Garden Committee. These groups would begin the process of planning for a year-round farmers' market and community garden at the Baskin Property. To fund these initiatives, PEACE Planners suggest applying for grant funds from the MA Food Trust and a variety of USDA grant programs.

Phase two (one to two years out) focuses on launching initial food-based programming at the Baskin Property. The food-based programming includes launching the farmers' market and community garden programs. PEACE Planners also suggest conducting a feasibility study for an incubator kitchen or restaurant/brewery inside the Baskin Warehouse. PEACE Planners recommend that the City seek funding through USDA grant opportunities or use

their own funds to remove existing materials from inside and around the Baskin Warehouse. Finally, phase three (three to five years out) is focused on converting the Baskin Warehouse into a commercial kitchen, with space for an indoor farmers' market, and the outdoor property into a long-term community garden space with raised beds and soil amendments. PEACE Planners recommend using state and federal funds, USDA grants funds, and a Kickstarter campaign.

At the RiverMill South property, PEACE Planners took a different recommendation approach, identifying numerous funding source scenarios that could help to revitalize the location.

numerous funding source scenarios that could help to revitalize the location. As a first step, PEACE Planners recommend that the City develop a specific need for the site, as that would make it easier to formulate a funding plan and gather community input. Once the City has identified a need for the RiverMill South property, PEACE Planners recommend that the City conduct a cost analysis in order to understand how much money the City should spend on the project. PEACE Planners also recommend that the City consider other funding scenarios, such as “private-only” funding or a public-private partnership.

PEACE planners propose recommendations for the RiverMill South Property at the 6 month, 1-2 years, and 2-5 year mark. In the near term (the next 6 months), PEACE Planners recommend that the City form a dedicated committee in charge of identifying stakeholders, completing a SWOT analysis, and exploring funding opportunities. After one to two years, PEACE Planners recommend breaking down the project into a set of defined tasks, including conducting a pre-design site assessment to evaluate vegetation and water runoff. PEACE Planners also recommend performing a cost analysis and conducting the initial bidding process. In the final implementation stage, PEACE planners recommend planning for the operations and maintenance of the site.

Finally, in regard to the Delta Park property, PEACE Planners recommended connecting Delta Park to the

downtown community of Chicopee through a bike path after some redevelopment has occurred. According to the report, a bike path would help to reduce congestion, improve park accessibility, and provide more green space and amenities for incoming members of the Lyman and Cabotville mill redevelopment projects. At the Delta Park property, PEACE planners again propose recommendations at the 6 month, 1-2 year, and 2-5 year mark. In phase one, PEACE Planners recommend identifying the potential stakeholders who will participate in the public engagement process and identifying sources of federal funding. In phase two, PEACE Planners recommend connecting the brownfield of Delta Park to the downtown community of Chicopee through a bike path. In the final phase, PEACE Planners recommend that the City focus on the development of a main destination within the park.

Relevance to Studio Project

PEACE Planners’ Open Space and Food Access report provides important context on the status of both open space and food access in the city of Chicopee. As their report highlights, Chicopee residents have limited access to healthy food options, and residents support the recommendation that underutilized industrial parcels can be redeveloped as homes for food-based organizations such as breweries, farmers’ markets, and food hubs. This recommendation is relevant to the current studio project

given that the West End neighborhood possesses a large number of abandoned or vacant parcels that potentially could house food-based organizations in the future.

In terms of open space, the report also provides useful insight into the types of outdoor amenities that Chicopee residents prefer. For example, after conducting their public engagement workshops, PEACE planners identified that many community members like well-lit walking, hiking, and biking paths; more playground and picnic areas; dog parks, and sports fields. In addition, PEACE Planners found that many members of the community were completely unaware of Delta Park, highlighting that the park has untapped potential as a passive recreational space. These findings about resident preferences are relevant to our studio project as we develop broad neighborhood recommendations for the West End area.

Restoring the Heart: A Community Vision for the Neighborhood of Aldenville (2017)

Background

In fall 2017, the city of Chicopee partnered with 7 Peaks Planning, a group of graduate students in the Regional Planning program at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, to develop a plan for the Aldenville neighborhood of Chicopee. Aldenville, also known as the “Heart of Chicopee,” is one of nine distinct neighborhoods in the city.

The Problem

Originally its own village, Aldenville was once a vibrant and bustling destination. Today, Aldenville’s center lacks economic activity and does not have a distinct sense of place. Aldenville is a primarily residential neighborhood, although it remains a central thoroughfare since it is situated at the intersection of four major roads. In order to understand how to revitalize Aldenville as a thriving, mixed-use, neighborhood-scale destination, 7 Peaks developed a robust public engagement strategy.

7 Peaks’ public engagement campaign focused on collecting input from Aldenville residents, as well as residents across Chicopee that had a connection to the

Methods

7 Peaks' public engagement campaign focused on collecting input from Aldenville residents, as well as residents across Chicopee that had a connection to the Aldenville neighborhood. 7 Peaks launched a two-month long public engagement process to promote the Aldenville Community Survey, focused on an online survey disseminated through several online channels. 7 Peaks also placed paper copies of the survey in the Chicopee library and attended five community events to promote the survey. 7 Peaks received 375 total survey responses during the two-month window.

Recommendations

Recommendations

7 Peaks Planning proposed multiple recommendations to restore Aldenville's center based on feedback from the public engagement campaign. For instance, when considering housing affordability, 67% of residents believed that the housing was affordable, while 41% believed that the rent was affordable. Similarly, most residents (75%) believed that there were enough parks and playgrounds in Aldenville. Findings from the Aldenville Community Survey also highlighted potential challenges within Aldenville. For example, 7 Peaks found that residents believed that traffic was a problem within Aldenville, with 39% answering that there was inadequate access to public

transportation in Aldenville. Similarly, nearly half of the residents (49%) disagreed that Aldenville had good restaurants, and an even higher percentage (65%) disagreed that Aldenville had stores that they would like to shop at.

Based on this feedback, 7 Peaks recommended providing greater parking and vendor space for the City's farmers' market, including incorporating temporary art installations at the market to attract more shoppers. In terms of transportation recommendations, 7 Peaks also recommended constructing additional sidewalks to address traffic within Aldenville and narrow the width of existing streets to 18-feet. The report contends that these improvements could help limit the vehicle speed in the area and therefore improve pedestrian safety.

Relevance to Studio Project

While this study addresses challenges in a different neighborhood of Chicopee, the extensive data that 7 Peaks collected about the neighborhood will be extremely useful for this year's studio project. As the report indicates, Chicopee residents did not identify housing affordability as a chief concern. Although the demographic data that 7 Peaks collected through the Aldenville Community Survey helps us understand a broad picture of the neighborhood, it is important that we do not assume that the same attitudes necessarily apply to Chicopee Center.

In addition, this report is relevant to our studio project because it provides precedents that will help us improve our data collection and public engagement strategies. For example, the report outlines that in-person public meetings historically have not yielded wide public participation in Chicopee; however, Chicopee residents responded well to 7 Peaks' technology-driven public engagement strategy. In addition, the report concludes that their public engagement strategy was successful in part because the team developed a strong brand image. As our team develops our public engagement strategy, knowing what tools Chicopee residents best respond to and how will be instrumental to the future success of our public engagement strategy.

DRAFT REPORT



Chapter 7: Public Engagement Strategies

Introduction

The city of Chicopee partnered with CCP to inform the development of a housing and economic development plan for Chicopee's West End neighborhood. The Client directive stated that in order to do so, CCP must understand current housing needs in the neighborhood and analyze broader market demands in the region. The Client asked CCP create a public engagement process that gathered perspectives from community stakeholders around future housing and economic development in the West End neighborhood.

The Client identified two public engagement goals:

1. Develop an outreach/engagement process that solicits community opinions regarding the plan

2. Analyze data collected from the outreach/engagement process to best inform the neighborhood visioning process and final plan

In addition, the Client identified that the public engagement process should use multiple methods for outreach and engagement.

CCP's Interpretation of Client Public Engagement Goals

In order to meet the Client's public engagement

goals, CCP developed a public engagement strategy to gather perspectives from community stakeholders. CCP developed a public engagement campaign theme and leveraged three public engagement tools including a paper visual preference survey, one-on-one interviews, and an online visual preference survey to gather perspectives from community stakeholders. After analyzing community feedback from the public engagement campaign, CCP used this information to develop broad recommendations around future housing and economic development in the West End neighborhood.

Strategy

The Client directive also directly informed CCP's public engagement strategy. The Client identified two areas where they needed input from community members: understanding current housing needs in the neighborhood and analyzing broader market demands in the region. The purpose of gathering these two types of information was to develop recommendations around how to better meet the housing and amenity needs of existing West End residents, as well as how to draw new residents into the neighborhood based on their preferences in these areas. The Client suggested that both existing residents and potential new residents would benefit from increased housing diversity (including different housing types and price points) as well

as improved commercial land uses to drive economic activity in the neighborhood.

Based on the Client directive, CCP developed a team objective to capture visions for future housing and economic development from current residents of the West End neighborhood, as well as individuals that have some other stake in the future of the neighborhood, such as public officials or business owners. The purpose of engaging current residents of Chicopee was to understand what existing residents liked about the neighborhood, particularly in regard to housing and economic development characteristics, as well as what the neighborhood might be missing. The purpose of engaging individuals with some other stake in the neighborhood, such as public officials, business owners, private developers, and non-profit and cultural center leaders, was to tap the knowledge of individuals that are deeply embedded and invested in the neighborhood's future.

Public Engagement Tools

In order to gather input from these three groups of people, CCP developed a public engagement campaign theme, called "Imagine Community, Imagine Home." In addition, CCP leveraged three public engagement tools including a paper visual preference survey (VPS), one-on-one stakeholder interviews, and an online VPS.

Public Engagement Campaign Theme

The theme of CCP's public engagement strategy was called "Imagine Community, Imagine Home" and was designed to capture visions for housing and economic development in the neighborhood. The slogan encouraged participants to draw connections between their wider community and their place of residence, suggesting that by imagining the West End community, individuals would be able to imagine their current or future home. All of CCP's promotional materials bore the "Imagine Community, Imagine Home" slogan.

“Imagine Community, Imagine Home” slogan.

Visual Preference Survey

The visual preference survey (VPS) aimed to assess the housing type and housing density preferences of current Chicopee residents. The VPS displayed three types of homes including mixed-use, single family residential, and multi-family residential homes. The VPS included images of low-, medium-, and high-density homes in each of these three home type categories. For each home type, survey respondents were asked to rank from one to three (with one being their favorite and three being their least favorite) what type of home they would like to see in the West End. Since the VPS was administered at an in-person event in Chicopee Center, called Spooktacular, the VPS aimed to primarily collect perspectives from current residents of the West End.

One-on-One Interviews

The one-on-one interviews were designed to engage individuals that had some stake in the future of the West End neighborhood such as public officials, business owners, private developers, and non-profit and cultural center leaders. The one-on-one interviews were designed around a SWOT analysis framework, in which CCP interviewers asked interviewees to consider the existing strengths, weakness, opportunities, and threats currently facing the West End

neighborhood.

Online Visual Preference Survey

The online VPS aimed to assess the housing type and housing density preferences among Chicopee residents and the general public. The online VPS displayed the same images and asked the same questions as the VPS administered at Spooktacular, but was administered through the online survey platform, Qualtrics. CCP created the online VPS so that the survey link could be disseminated to Chicopee residents that did not attend Spooktacular, as well as residents of the broader region who may have some interest in the future of the West End neighborhood.

Table 7.0 summarizes the public engagement tools that CCP leveraged to engage each stakeholder group.

Table 7.0: Public engagement strategy overview

Campaign Theme

“Imagine Community, Imagine Home.”

Stakeholder	Public Engagement Tool
Current residents	Paper visual preference survey, online visual preference survey
Public officials, business owners, leaders at neighborhood non-profits or cultural centers	Online visual preference survey, one-one-one interview

The theme of CCP's public engagement strategy was called "Imagine Community, Imagine Home." The campaign theme appeared on all of CCP's promotional materials including the VPS administered at Spooktacular, the online VPS, and all promotional materials that CCP brought to in-person events.

CCP developed several goals for creating a public engagement theme. The first goal of the public engagement theme was to develop a relatable slogan that would encourage Chicopee residents to imagine the type of home and community that they would like to live in. The slogan encouraged participants to draw connections between their wider community and their place of residence, suggesting that by imagining the West End, individuals would be able to imagine their current or future home. The second goal of the public engagement theme was to create a recognizable, consistent brand that would be associated with CCP's promotional materials.

An example of a postcard showing the "Imagine Community, Imagine Home" slogan is shown in Figure 7.0.

Figure 7.0: Postcard displaying CCP's "Imagine Community, Imagine Home" public engagement slogan



Campaign Logo

In addition to developing a theme for the public engagement campaign, CCP also developed a team logo that was displayed on all of CCP's promotional materials. Figure 5.3 displays CCP's team logo. CCP developed a team logo in order to create a relatable, recognizable identity that would be associated with CCP and CCP's promotional materials.



Figure 7.1: The Community Collaborative Planning logo

Visual Preference Survey

Overview

The VPS aimed to assess the housing type and housing density preferences of Chicopee residents in a highly visual, easy-to-understand format. The VPS displayed a variety of different housing types (mixed-use, single family residential, and multi-family residential homes) and housing densities (low-, medium-, and high-density) and asked survey respondents to rank the degree to which they would like to see a given housing type and housing density in the West End. In addition, the VPS included a series of questions that asked survey respondents to consider the degree to which they would like to live near specific amenities, such as coffee shops, and whether they currently live near that amenity. The VPS also included a series of brief demographic questions.

Goals

The first goal of the VPS was to understand what types of housing and housing densities Chicopee residents most prefer. The second goal of the VPS was to assess what types of amenities residents would like to live near within their own neighborhood.

Design

CCP designed the VPS on a double-sided, 11 x 17 inch piece of paper. On the first side of the VPS, the VPS displayed nine photographs showing a variety of housing types and housing densities (Figure 7.2). The survey had three rows of photos. Each row of the VPS showed three photographs of either a mixed-use, single family residential, or multi-family resident home. In each row, the photographs of homes increased in density from left to right, with the leftmost image representing the least dense home and the rightmost image representing the most dense home. The VPS displayed photos of homes from both inside and outside of Chicopee.

The top of the VPS asked survey respondents to rank what type of home they would like to see in Chicopee Center. Survey respondents were asked to place a 1, 2, or 3 in a callout box next to each of the photographs in each row. Survey respondents were instructed to place a "1" next to their favorite photo, a "2" next to their second favorite photo, and a "3" next to their least favorite photo in each of the three rows.

On the back side of the visual preference survey, the survey included a series of declarative statements that aimed to assess the degree to which existing Chicopee residents would like to live near specific neighborhood amenities (Figure 7.3).

An example of a declarative statement included on the VPS was: "I would like to live within walking distance of

restaurants, bars, and/or coffee shops." Survey respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement according to a Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree," "disagree," "neutral," "agree," to "strongly agree" (Figure 7.3).

The VPS concluded with five close-ended questions to help CCP assess how housing preferences varied according to different demographic characteristics of survey respondents. The close-ended questions included:

- 1) Do you currently live in Chicopee?**
- 2) Do you rent or own your home?**
- 3) What is your primary mode of transportation?**
- 4) How old are you?**
- 5) What is your annual household income?**

RANK what you'd like to see in Chicopee Center!
1 = your favorite, 3 = your least favorite

Question 1

Write 1, 2, or 3
in each box!



Question 2

Write 1, 2, or 3
in each box!



Question 3

Write 1, 2, or 3
in each box!



Figure 7.2: Front side of the visual preference survey

I would like to live within walking distance of restaurants, bars, and/or coffee shops.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

These places are within walking distance of where I currently live.

Yes No

I would like to live within walking distance of places where I can buy fresh food.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

These places are within walking distance of where I currently live.

Yes No

I would like to live within walking distance of public parks, libraries, recreation centers, and/or social clubs.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

These places are within walking distance of where I currently live.

Yes No

I would like to live within walking distance of medical services.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

These places are within walking distance of where I currently live.

Yes No

I would like to have a job commute that is under 30 minutes.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

My job commute is under 30 minutes from where I currently live.

Yes No Not Applicable

Do you currently live in Chicopee? (check one)

☐ Yes
☐ No

Do you rent or own your home? (check one)

☐ Own
☐ Rent
☐ Other: _____

What is your primary mode of transportation? (check one)

☐ Walking
☐ Biking
☐ Driving
☐ Public transportation
☐ Other: _____

How old are you? (check one)

☐ 18-24
☐ 25-39
☐ 40-54
☐ 55-74
☐ 75+
☐ Prefer not to answer

What is your annual household income? (check one)

☐ Under \$20,000
☐ \$20,000 - \$34,999
☐ \$35,000 - \$49,999
☐ \$50,000 - \$74,999
☐ \$75,000 - \$99,999
☐ \$100,000+
☐ Prefer not to answer

Any other final thoughts?



UMASS
AMHERST

Thank you for taking our survey!
For more information about the project,
please email:
collaborativecommunityplanning@gmail.com

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Figure 7.3: Back side of the visual preference survey

The VPS also included one open-ended question, which allowed survey participants to add additional feedback or comments.

Implementation

Implementation Plan

The Client recommended that CCP administer the VPS in-person at Spooktacular. Spooktacular is an annual Halloween event that takes place in Chicopee Center the day before Halloween. The event attracts more than 2,000 children and their parents to trick-or-treat in the West End. During Spooktacular, the city of Chicopee closes down Exchange Street, Center Street, and in front of City Hall and the former library in the center of the West End. Local businesses and organizations are invited to set up tables in the closed streets and hand out candy to children dressed up in Halloween costumes for the event. Children and their parents line up at the entrance to Spooktacular and pass by each table offering candy in a line. The Client recommended that CCP set up a table at Spooktacular, hand out candy to children, and ask parents or caretakers accompanying the children to take the VPS as participants passed the CCP table.

The setup at Spooktacular informed the overall design of the VPS. The Client recommended that the VPS take 90 seconds or less to complete given that parents and

caretakers taking the survey would have only a few minutes to step away from their children. In addition, the Client recommended that CCP design a brief VPS given that parents or caretakers taking the survey might feel pressured to stop only briefly at the CCP table, as the trick-or-treaters lined up behind them might want to advance to the next table handing out candy.

Survey Testing

Before administering the VPS at Spooktacular, the CCP team conducted a dry run of the VPS on the UMass Amherst campus. The goal of the dry run was to evaluate how long it would take survey respondents to complete the survey as well as to gather feedback on the survey's overall clarity and design before administering the survey at Spooktacular. By administering the dry run, CCP also aimed to address findings in the literature that suggest that pre-testing surveys can help to reduce measurement error in survey results (Collins, 2001).

The dry run took place around noon on a weekday in the John W. Olver Design Building on the UMass Amherst campus. CCP set up a table on the first floor of the Design Building and asked people passing by to take the VPS. Members of the CCP team passed out Halloween candy during the dry-run to attract participants.



Figure 7.4: Dry-run of the visual preference survey

In order to confirm that the survey took 90 seconds or less to complete during the dry run, one member of the CCP team recorded how long it took the survey respondent to complete the survey using an iPhone timer. After participants completed the survey, CCP asked participants for their feedback about the survey. In particular, CCP asked survey participants if any of the instructions or wording of the questions were unclear. CCP recorded feedback from participants and used this feedback to improve on the next iteration of the survey that was administered at Spooktacular.

Implementation at Spooktacular

CCP set up a table in Chicopee Center during Spooktacular to administer the VPS. During Spooktacular, members of the CCP team dressed up in Halloween

costumes, handed out Halloween candy to children from a table clad in Halloween decorations, and asked parents and caretakers stopping by the table to take the VPS.

In addition, members of the CCP team engaged children that stopped by the CCP table in a series of activities while their parents or caretakers were occupied taking the VPS. Two members of the CCP team managed a face painting booth. Other members of the team oversaw a Plinko board, which is a carnival game, and passed out jumbo-sized Halloween candy to winners. Appendix A.2 includes a list of materials that the CCP team purchased for Spooktacular.



Figure 7.5: CCP setting up the table and survey materials at Spooktacular



Figure 7.7: Children playing carnival games at the CCP table at Spooktacular



Figure 7.6: Spooktacular attendees collecting candy and filling out surveys



Figure 7.8: Face painting at Spooktacular



Figure 7.9: Spooktacular attendees filling out the VPS



Figure 7.10: CCP administering the VPS at Spooktacular

In order to analyze the data collected from the VPS, CCP developed a data analysis plan in advance. This plan involved creating an online copy of the VPS administered at Spooktacular in the online survey platform, Qualtrics. CCP created an online copy of the survey so that members of the CCP team could manually enter all responses collected from the paper VPS into an online platform that has data analysis and data visualization functionality.

To facilitate the data entry process, CCP numbered each paper copy of the VPS received at Spooktacular and recorded the name of the individual on the CCP team who entered the data when recording each survey response. After the team entered all of the survey data, the CCP team performed a quality check by downloading the survey response data that had been entered into the online Qualtrics survey, allowing members of the team to see who entered each survey response and the survey number associated with each entry. In instances where the survey was not completely filled out or had invalid responses, CCP did not enter any information for that specific survey question. As a result, due to missing data, the N's for several survey questions are different. In total, it took about one and a half hours to enter data from one hundred surveys using this technique.

Data Analysis Methodology

the N's for several survey questions are different. In total, it took about one and a half hours to enter data from one hundred surveys using this technique.

Online Visual Preference Survey

Overview

The second public engagement tool that CCP leveraged was an online VPS administered through the online survey platform, Qualtrics. The online VPS contained the same content as the VPS administered at Spooktacular and again aimed to assess the housing type and housing density preferences of Chicopee residents in a highly visual, easy-to-understand format. CCP developed the online VPS as part of a passive strategy to collect information on the housing type, housing density, and neighborhood needs and demands of a broader swath of Chicopee residents that did not attend Spooktacular. CCP referred to this as a passive strategy because it did not represent the core focus of the team's public engagement efforts. Rather, the VPS administered at Spooktacular and the one-on-one interviews formed the core of the team's public engagement efforts.

Goals

The main goal of developing the online VPS was to

capture visions for future housing and economic development among a broad swath of Chicopee residents. Since the VPS administered at Spooktacular targeted a relatively narrow group of individuals, or mostly parents and caretakers of children attending the event, CCP aimed to capture visions for future neighborhood development among a more demographically diverse group of people.

Design

CCP developed the online VPS using the online survey platform, Qualtrics. The online VPS contained the same questions and images as the paper VPS and was compatible with mobile and web browsers. Figure 7.11 displays the online VPS.

Figure 7.11 Example of online VPS on web and mobile



Implementation

Survey Testing

I would like to live within walking distance of restaurants, bars, and/or coffee shops.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Neutral

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

These places are within walking distance of where I currently live.

Yes

No

Before disseminating a link to the online VPS, CCP

tested the online VPS in advance. CCP asked that a group of master's students in the Regional Planning program at UMass Amherst take the online visual preference survey. CCP asked students for feedback on the survey's overall clarity and design and incorporated this feedback to improve the overall design of the survey.

Online Implementation

CCP opened the link to the online VPS in early November 2018. In order to encourage current Chicopee residents to take the online VPS, CCP disseminated the survey link using several different methods. First, after

obtaining a list of residential addresses within the West End neighborhood from the Client, CCP sent out a postcard to 1,159 residential addresses within the West End neighborhood. The postcard asked individuals to take a 90-second survey and included the link to the online VPS. Figure 7.12 displays a copy of the postcard. CCP sent the postcard in the second week of November, giving survey respondents two weeks to complete the survey before the survey closed on November 30th.

In addition to sending out postcards with a link to the online VPS, CCP also obtained a list of local businesses and organizations in the West End from the Chicopee Chamber of Commerce. CCP emailed the survey link to 46 businesses and organizations in Chicopee Center and requested that contacts at each of these businesses or organizations fill out the online VPS. these businesses or organizations fill out the online VPS. Appendix A.5 lists the names of the organizations and businesses in the West End that CCP contacted. CCP also shared the survey link with the Chicopee Department of Planning and Development, who worked with the Chicopee Mayor's office to post a link to the survey on Facebook. In addition, the link was disseminated to young professional organizations in the area, such as the Northampton Young Professional listserv.

Data Analysis Methodology

CCP analyzed the results of the online VPS using the web survey platform, Qualtrics. When the survey was first launched, CCP did not require that all answers be required for submission. As a result, some survey questions had missing data, resulting in a different N value for different survey responses. After realizing this, CCP set all survey questions to be required for submission.

One-on-One Interviews

Overview

As previously discussed, the final public engagement tool that the CCP team leveraged was one-on-one interviews. The one-on-one interviews were designed to engage individuals that have some stake in the future of the West End neighborhood. During the one-on-one interviews, the CCP team asked interviewees questions that borrowed from a SWOT analysis framework, asking interviewees to consider the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats facing the West End neighborhood. Interviewees included public officials, business owners, private developers, non-profit and cultural center leaders, and current residents.

Goals

The first goal of conducting the one-on-one interviews was to gain a more in-depth understanding of some of the current challenges and opportunities facing the West End neighborhood from individuals who are deeply embedded and invested in the future of the neighborhood. Another goal of the one-on-one interviews was to capture visions surrounding what future housing and economic development should look like in the West End neighborhood.

Design

CCP designed the one-on-one interviews around a SWOT analysis framework, asking stakeholders to consider the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats facing the West End neighborhood. The interviews were structured around the following questions:

- 1. What do you like about Chicopee Center?**
(strength)
- 2. What do you dislike about Chicopee Center?**
(weakness/threat)
- 3. How could Chicopee Center be improved?**
(opportunity)

Implementation

Implementation Plan

The first step in implementing the one-on-one interviews involved developing a list of individuals to potentially interview. At multiple meetings, the Client and CCP brainstormed a list of potential stakeholders to interview for the one-on-one interviews. After brainstorming a list of potential interviewees, CCP contacted individuals over the phone and over email. CCP reached out to over fifteen organizations and businesses in total. Appendix A.4 presents a list of the businesses and organizations that the CCP team contacted for an interview.

The one-on-one interviews were designed to last roughly 20 to 30 minutes long. With only three scripted questions, CCP estimated that interviewees would have about 6 to 10 minutes to respond to each question. Two members of the CCP team conducted the interview, with one team member posing questions while the other team member took written notes. Afterwards, CCP analyzed the written notes from the one-on-one interviews in order to extract prominent themes. All stakeholders were informed that specific comments would not be attributed to them.

Organization	Organization Description
American Legion	Veterans organization
Chicopee Chamber of Commerce	Business development organization
Collegian Court	Polish restaurant
Goodworks Coffee House	Coffee shop
Archipelago Investments, LLC	Housing developer based in Western Massachusetts
Pioneer Valley Planning Commission	Regional planning commission for Western Massachusetts
Westfield Bank	Local bank branch

Table 7.1: Organizations interviewed by CCP

Survey Implementation

CCP conducted nine one-on-one interviews in November 2018. Table X.X presents the names of organizations that the CCP team interviewed for the one-on-one interviews.

Node Name	Code Description
Asset	Existing positive features
Challenge	Existing negative features or undesirable features (inexistent)
Culture	Identity, speaker descriptions of self or appearance, history, heritage, values, traditions, diversity, ethnicity, community culture
University	"The college students," higher education
School	School system, high school, teachers, superintendent
Housing	Residential properties, housing costs, homebuyers
Commerce	Stores, local businesses, business development, tourism
Transportation	Bus, traffic, parking, bike paths
Services	Social agencies, medical, city services, shelters
Environment	Landscape, weather, scenic views, specific places within Chicopee Center
Relationship	Friends, family attachment (i.e. "my son lives here"), conflict, disagreement, discussion
Justice	Oppression/inequality, opportunity, economic conditions, jobs, affordability, expensive, accountability, "problems not addressed", class privilege
Network	Committee, service or volunteering, clubs, meetings, social capital
Vibrancy	Music, arts, concerts, facilities like museums
Governance	City government, city meeting, representation in public decisions, issues of tax base
Economy	Employment, jobs, revenue

Table 7.2: Key for coding one-on-one interviews

Survey Implementation

CCP conducted nine one-on-one interviews in November 2018. Table A.4 presents the names of organizations that the CCP team interviewed for the one-on-one interviews.

Data Analysis Methodology

CCP used NVIVO software, which is a qualitative data analysis software, to analyze notes from all of the one-on-one interviews. This process involved multiple rounds of coding in order to extract predominant themes from the interviews. During the first round of coding, CCP developed the preliminary themes, or nodes, shown in Table 7.2.

After the first round of coding, many of the categories were not utilized at all, such as “school” and “environment.” Interviewees did not discuss topics related to these subjects. However, other nodes were heavily utilized, such as “transportation,” “services,” “commerce” and “housing.” Content in some of the nodes, such as “network” and “culture,” overlapped considerably. Therefore, CCP created themes that better suited the information gathered from the one-on-one interviews, based on the relationships between nodes from the coding process.

Conclusion

By utilizing three public engagement methods centered around the theme of “Imagine Community, Imagine Home,” CCP designed a public engagement strategy to engage diverse stakeholders in envisioning the future of housing and economic development in the West End neighborhood. Through the paper VPS, online VPS, and stakeholder interviews, CCP obtained feedback directly addressing the goals outlined by the Client: to understand current housing needs in the neighborhood and analyze broader market demands in the region. CCP used this feedback to develop recommendations around how to better meet the housing needs of existing residents, as well as how to bring new residents into the neighborhood. Feedback generated from this public engagement strategy also addressed the current amenities available in the neighborhood, as well as areas where there is a market for further development, which could drive economic activity in the West End.



Chapter 8: Public Engagement Findings

Visual Preference Survey Findings

CCP collected 104 survey responses to the visual preference survey administered at Spooktacular. This section will examine findings from the Spooktacular VPS, starting with an overview of the demographic characteristics of Spooktacular survey respondents followed by an analysis of survey respondents' most preferred mixed-use, single family residential, and multi-family residential homes. Lastly, this section will conclude with an examination of Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type according to various demographic characteristics including their age, annual household income, and housing tenure.

DRAFT REPORT

Do you currently live in Chicopee?

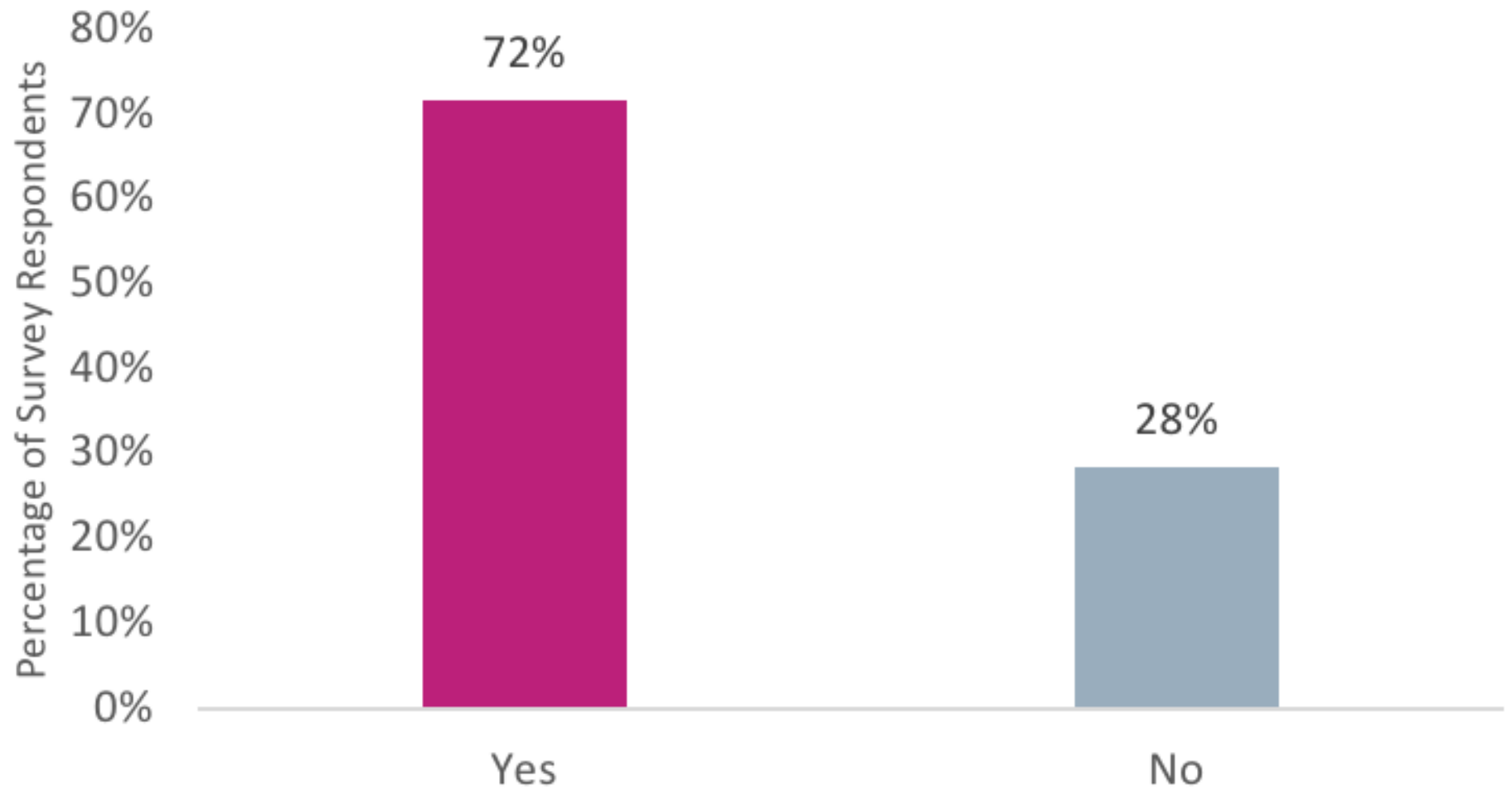


Figure 8.0 Current residency reported by Spooktacular survey respondents

Demographic Characteristics

Residency

In the VPS, 72% (or 68/95) of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they lived in Chicopee, suggesting that the visual preference survey captured a broad swath of opinions from residents currently living in Chicopee (Figure 8.0).

DRAFT REPORT

Do you rent or own your home?

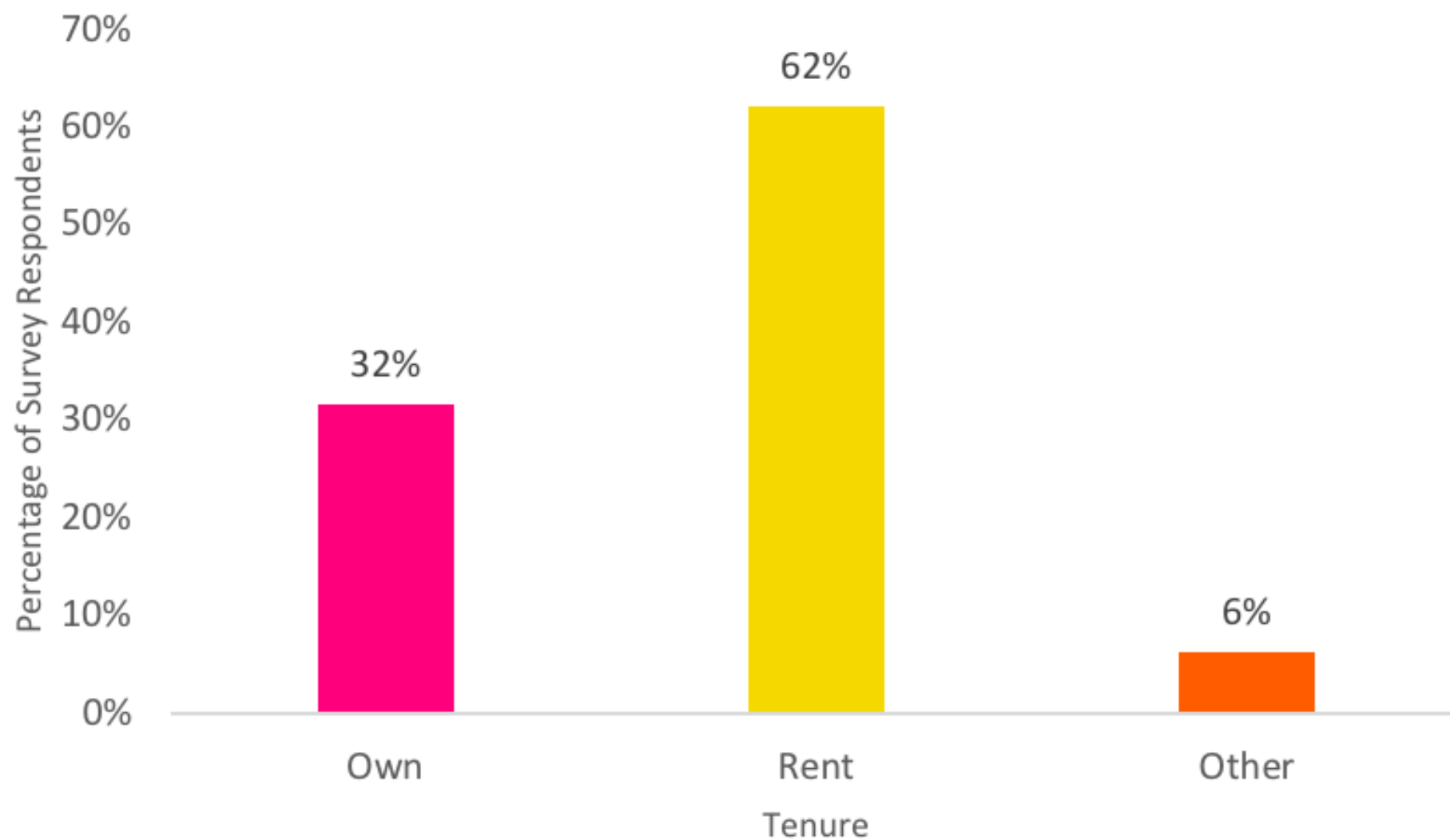


Figure 8.1: Housing tenure of Spooktacular survey respondents

Housing Tenure

The majority of Spooktacular survey respondents (62%, or 59/95) reported that they rent their home, while 32% (or 30/95) of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they owned their home. Another 6% (or 6/95) of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they lived in an “other” living arrangement, such as living at home with parents. Taken together, these findings suggest that the majority of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they were renters rather than homeowners.

Figure 8.2 compares the housing tenure trends reported by Spooktacular survey respondents compared to housing tenure trends among residents living in the West End neighborhood, according to the U.S. Census Bureau’s 2016 1-year estimates. As Figure 8.2 shows, the vast majority of West End residents, or 80%, rent their homes.

The housing tenure trends reported by Spooktacular survey respondents closely mirror overall housing tenure trends among residents living in the West End neighborhood, according to the U.S. Census Bureau’s 2016 1-year estimates. While Spooktacular survey respondents do not necessarily live in the West End neighborhood, Figure 8.2 demonstrates that the housing tenure patterns reported by Spooktacular survey respondents were similar to West End residents overall.

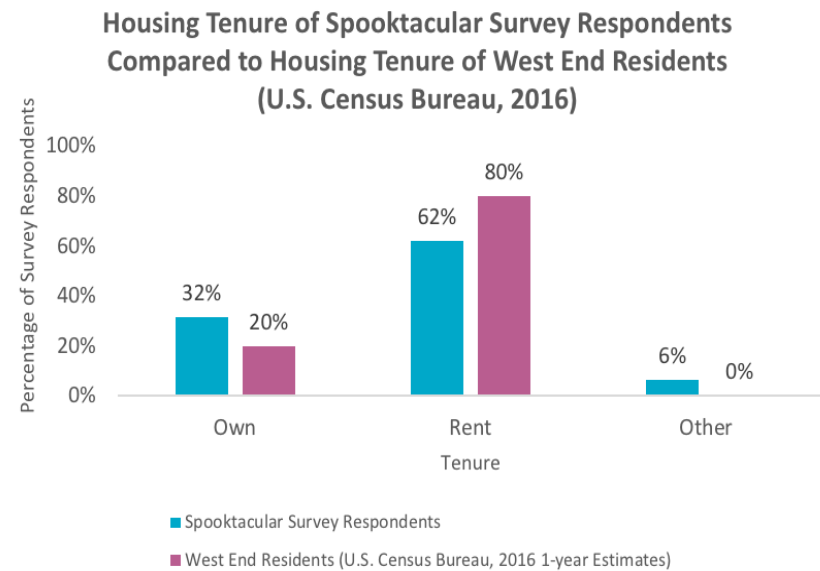


Figure 8.2: Housing tenure of Spooktacular survey respondents compared to residents living in the West End

What is your primary mode of transportation?

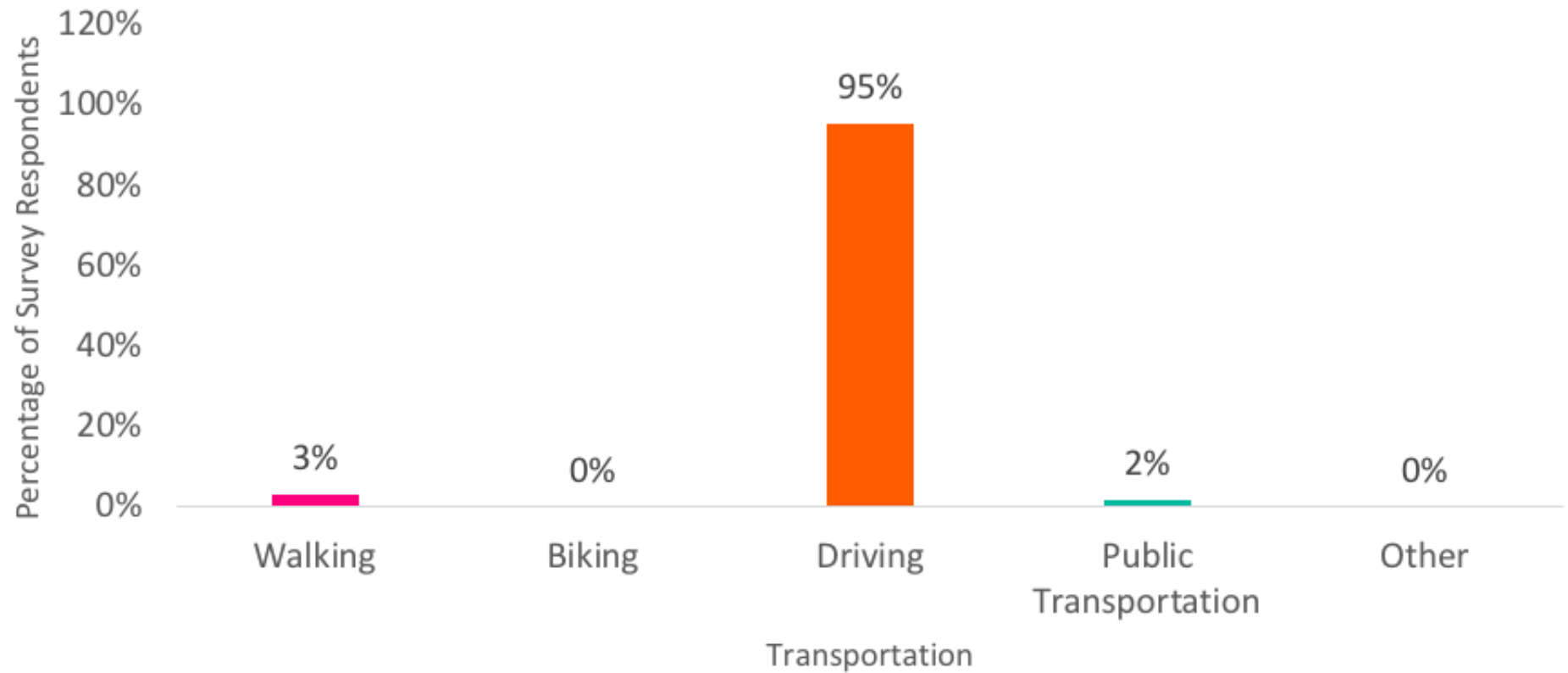


Figure 8.3: Primary mode of transportation of Spooktacular survey respondents

Transportation Use

Almost all, or 95% (or 61/64), of the online VPS survey respondents reported that driving was their primary mode of transportation (Figure 8.27). Approximately 3% (or 2/64) of online VPS survey respondents reported that walking was their primary mode of transportation and another 2% (or 1/64) of online VPS survey respondents reported that taking public transportation was their primary mode of transportation. No survey respondents reported that biking or taking another form of transportation was their primary mode of transportation.

Collectively, these findings suggest that the majority of online VPS survey respondents rely on automobiles to get around. The fact that no online VPS survey respondents reported that biking was their primary mode of transportation and that few online VPS survey respondents reported that taking public transportation was their primary mode of transportation may suggest that there is inadequate biking and public transportation infrastructure in place to support these modes of transportation.

What is your annual household income?

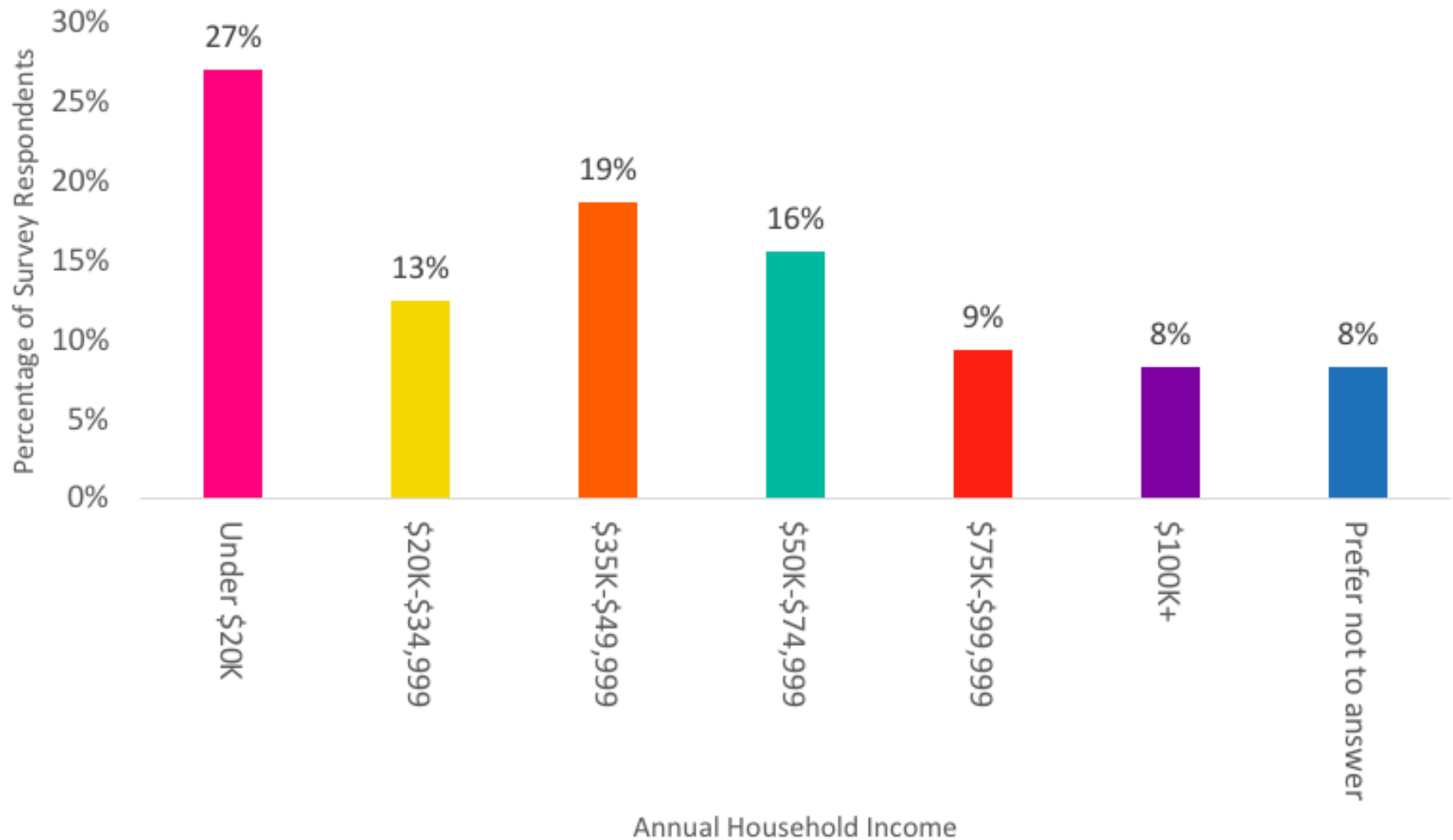


Figure 8.4: Household income of Spooktacular survey respondents

Household Income

Roughly 27% (or 26/96) of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that their annual household income was less than \$20,000, the most common household income bracket (Figure 8.4). Roughly 13% (or 12/96) of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that their annual household income was between \$20,000 and \$34,999, and another 19% (or 18/96) of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that their household income was between \$35,000 and \$49,999. Approximately 16% (or 15/96) of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that their household income was between \$50,000 and \$74,999. Finally, roughly 9% (or 9/96) of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that their annual household income was between \$75,000 and \$99,999, and 8% (or 8/96) reported that their annual household income was greater than \$100,000.

Taken together, these trends suggest that the annual household incomes reported by Spooktacular survey respondents closely mirror household income trends in the city of Chicopee overall. Nearly half of Spooktacular survey respondents reported an annual household income less than \$50,000, mirroring trends in the city of Chicopee, where the median household income is roughly \$46,000 (see Chapter 3 for more information on median household income in the region). These findings also suggest that in general, the annual household income reported by Spooktacular survey respondents is considerably lower than

the median household income in the Massachusetts overall, where the median household income is roughly \$71,000.

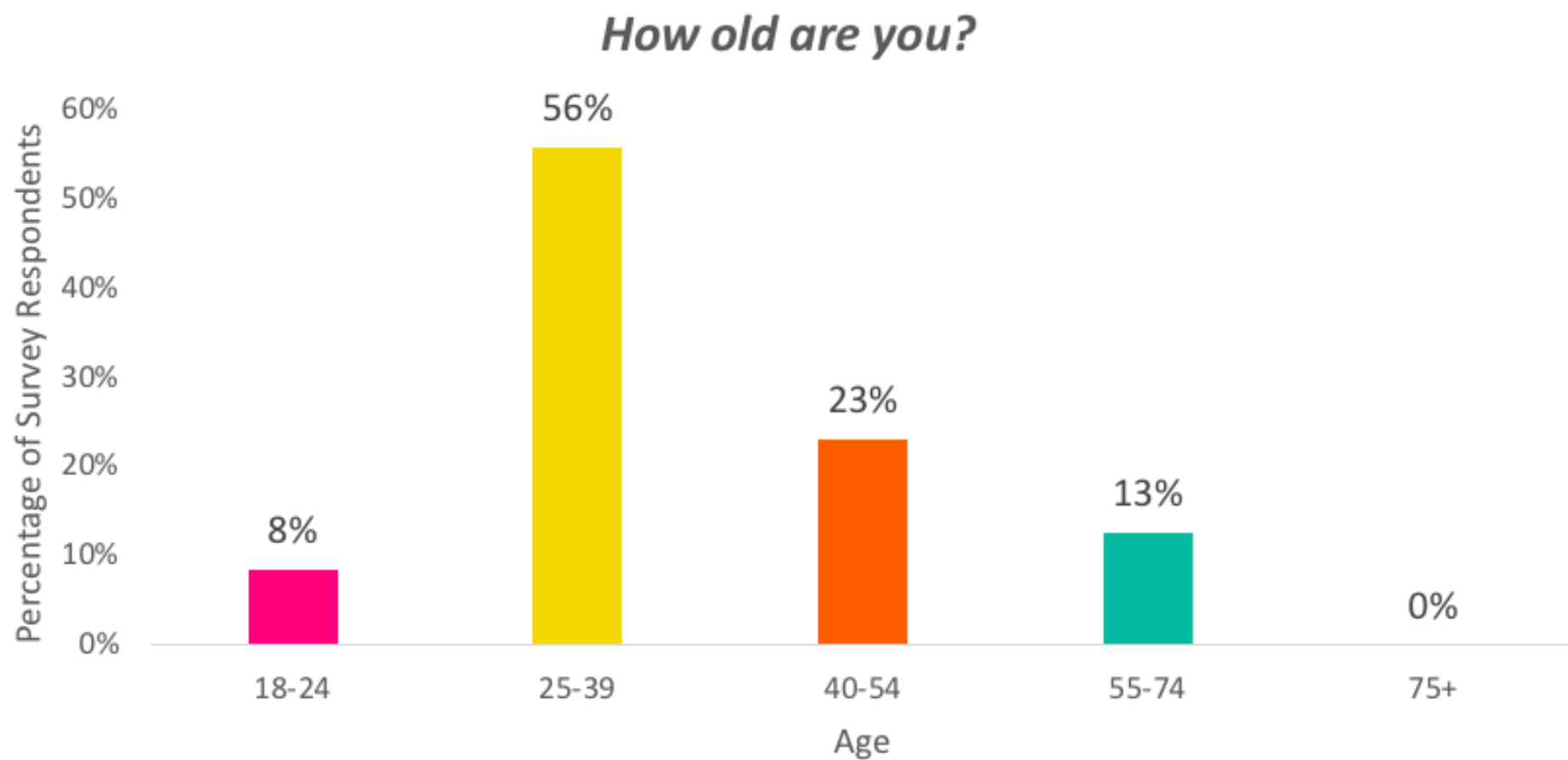


Figure 8.5: Age of Spooktacular survey respondents

Age

The majority (56% or 53/95) of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they were between 25 and 39 years old (Figure 8.5). Another 23% (or 22/95) of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they were between 40 and 54 years old. Approximately 13% (or 12/95) of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they were between 55 and 74 years old, and 8% (or 8/95) of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they were between 18 and 24 years old. Finally, no Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they were older than 75 years old.

The fact that over three in four Spooktacular survey respondents were between 25 and 54 years old can likely be explained by the fact that the majority of Spooktacular survey respondents likely attended the Spooktacular event with their children, resulting in a high proportion of survey respondents in their child-rearing years (i.e. between 25 and 54 years old). These trends also suggests that perspectives from younger people, or individuals between 18 and 24 years old, or older individuals, or individuals older than 55 years old, are comparatively underrepresented in the Spooktacular VPS.

Age of Spooktacular Survey Respondents Compared to Age of West End Residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016)

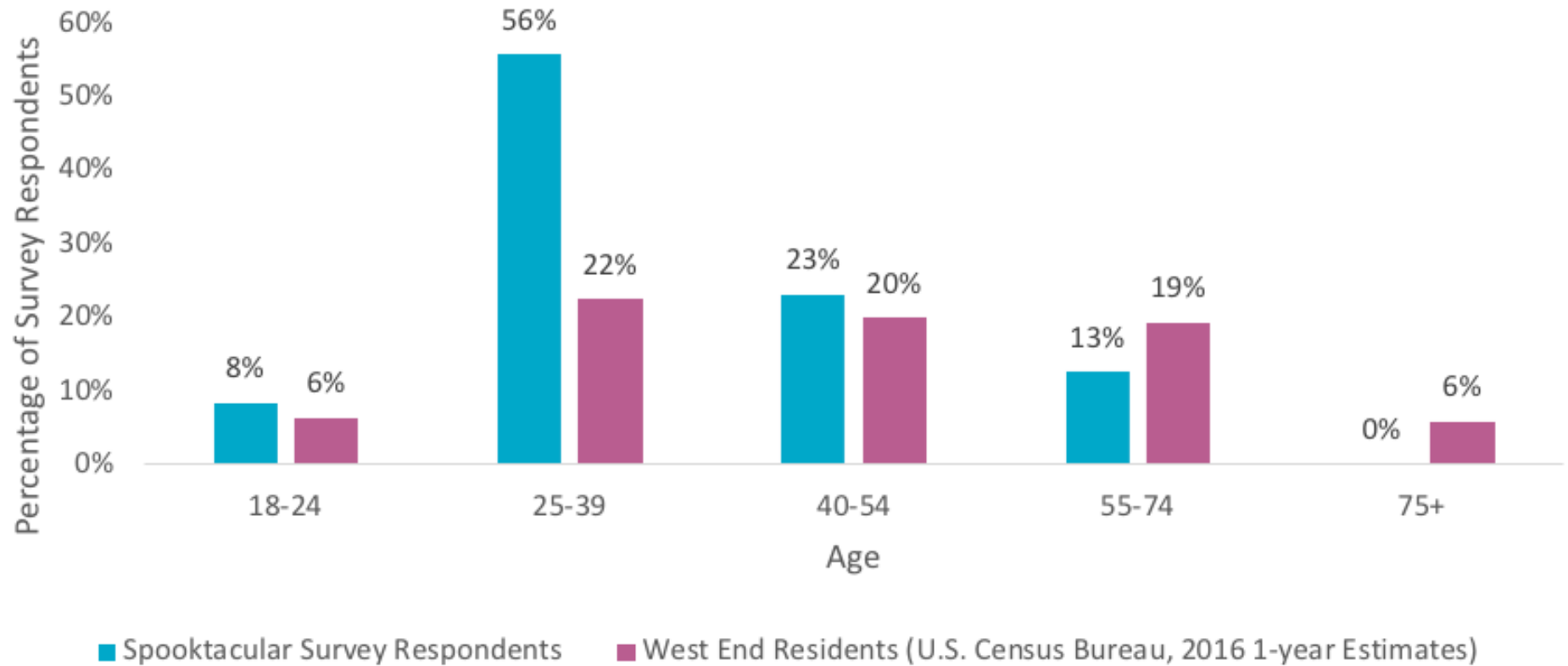


Figure 8.6: Age of Spooktacular survey respondents compared to residents living in the West End

Figure 8.6 compares the age distribution of Spooktacular survey respondents compared to the age distribution among residents living in the West End neighborhood, according to the U.S. Census Bureau's 2016 1-year estimates. As Figure 8.6 shows, the age distribution of Spooktacular survey respondents closely mirrors the age distribution among residents of the West End neighborhood in most age cohorts apart from the 25 to 39 year old age cohort and the 75+ age cohort. As Figure 8.6 shows, 56% of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they were between 25 and 39 years old, while only 22% of residents in the West End neighborhood are in this same age range. Likewise, while no Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they were older than 75 years old, roughly 6% of people living in the West End neighborhood are older than 75 years old according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

Comparing these two age distributions shows that the Spooktacular VPS over-represents perspectives from individuals in the 25 to 39 year old age range, as individuals in this age range make up a considerably smaller proportion of total residents in the West End neighborhood. Likewise, these trends demonstrate that the Spooktacular VPS did not manage to capture perspectives from individuals in the 75 years or older age range, although individuals in this age bracket compose 6% of the population in the West End neighborhood.

Spooktacular VPS Respondent Demographic Trends Conclusion

The Spooktacular VPS collected demographic information on Spooktacular survey respondents including their residency, their housing tenure, their primary transportation use, their annual household income, and their age. Collectively, findings from the Spooktacular VPS demonstrate that the majority of Spooktacular survey respondents live in Chicopee, rent their homes, drive as their primary mode of transportation, have a household income of less than \$50,000 a year, and are between 25 and 39 years old.

Housing Preferences

The Spooktacular VPS displayed three rows of images. Each row in the VPS displayed three images reflecting one housing type, either a mixed-use, single family residential, or a multi-family residential home. Within each of these three housing types, each row of the VPS displayed homes of varied densities. The left-most image in each row displayed the lowest-density home, while the right-most image in each row reflected the highest-density home.

Figure 8.7 displays the images shown in the VPS, with labels accounting for each image's housing type and housing density. This section will examine Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type for each row of the survey, starting with their most preferred mixed-use home, followed by survey respondents' most preferred single family residential home and multi-family residential home.



Figure 8.7: Image displayed in VPS with labels showing housing type and housing density (labels were not present in the disseminated version of the VPS)

Most Preferred Mixed-Use Housing Density

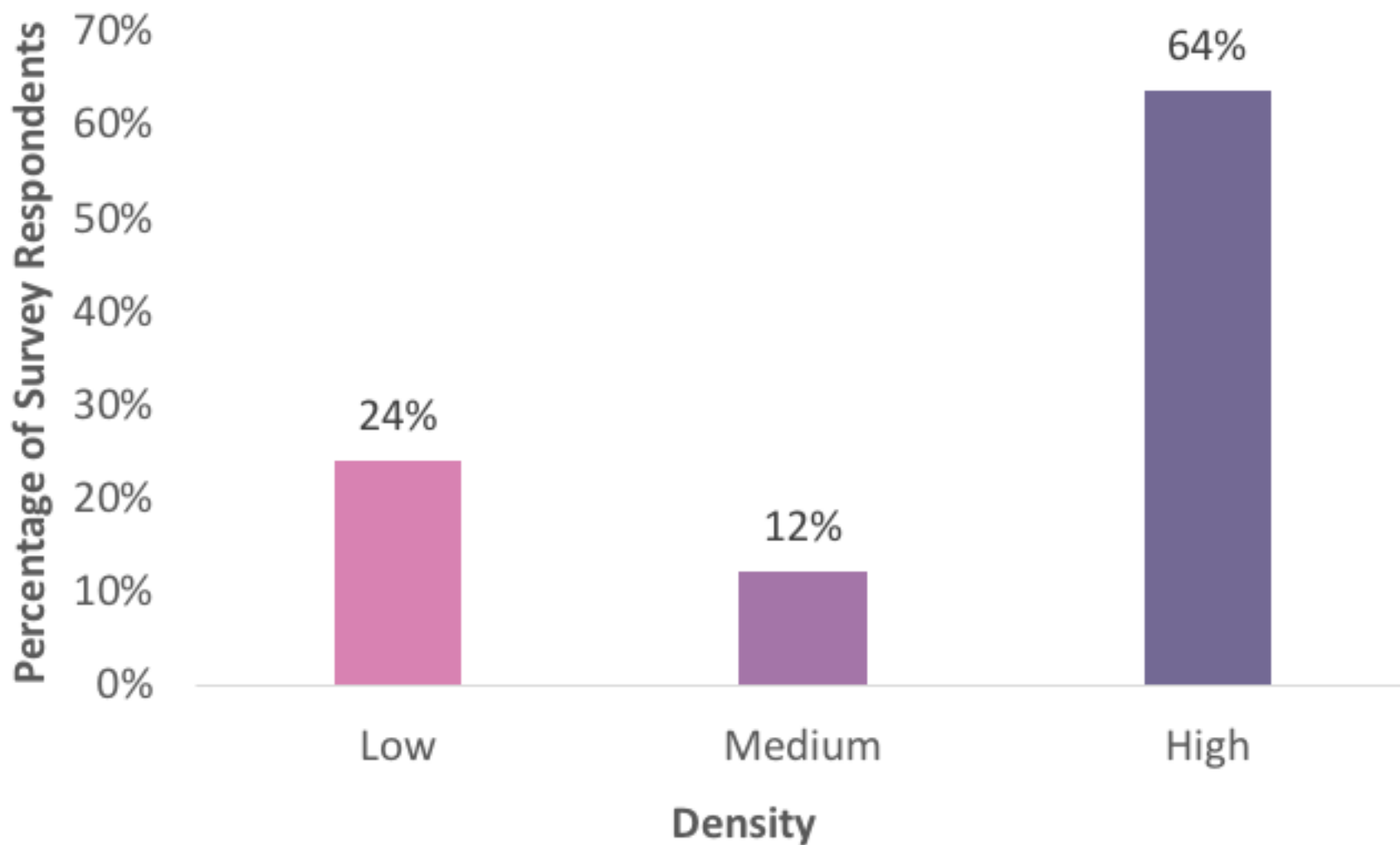


Figure 8.8: Percentage of Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred mixed-use housing type by density



Figure 8.9 Mixed-use housing types on the visual preference survey

Mixed-Use

In the mixed-use category, Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred the high-density mixed-use development.

Figure 8.9 shows the degree to which Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred the high-density mixed-use home. As Figure 8.9 shows, 64% (or 60/94) of Spooktacular survey respondents ranked the high-density home as their most preferred choice, 24% (or 21/87) ranked the low-density home as their most preferred choice, and 12% (or 11/89) ranked the medium-density home as their most preferred choice.

The trends presented in Figure 8.9 demonstrate that the vast majority of Spooktacular survey respondents most

preferred the high-density mixed-use development. This trend indicates that there was some degree of consensus among Spooktacular survey respondents that a high-density mixed-use home is the most suitable density to be located in the West End. In addition, it is noteworthy that the incoming redeveloped mill projects will be a relatively high-density, mixed-use development.

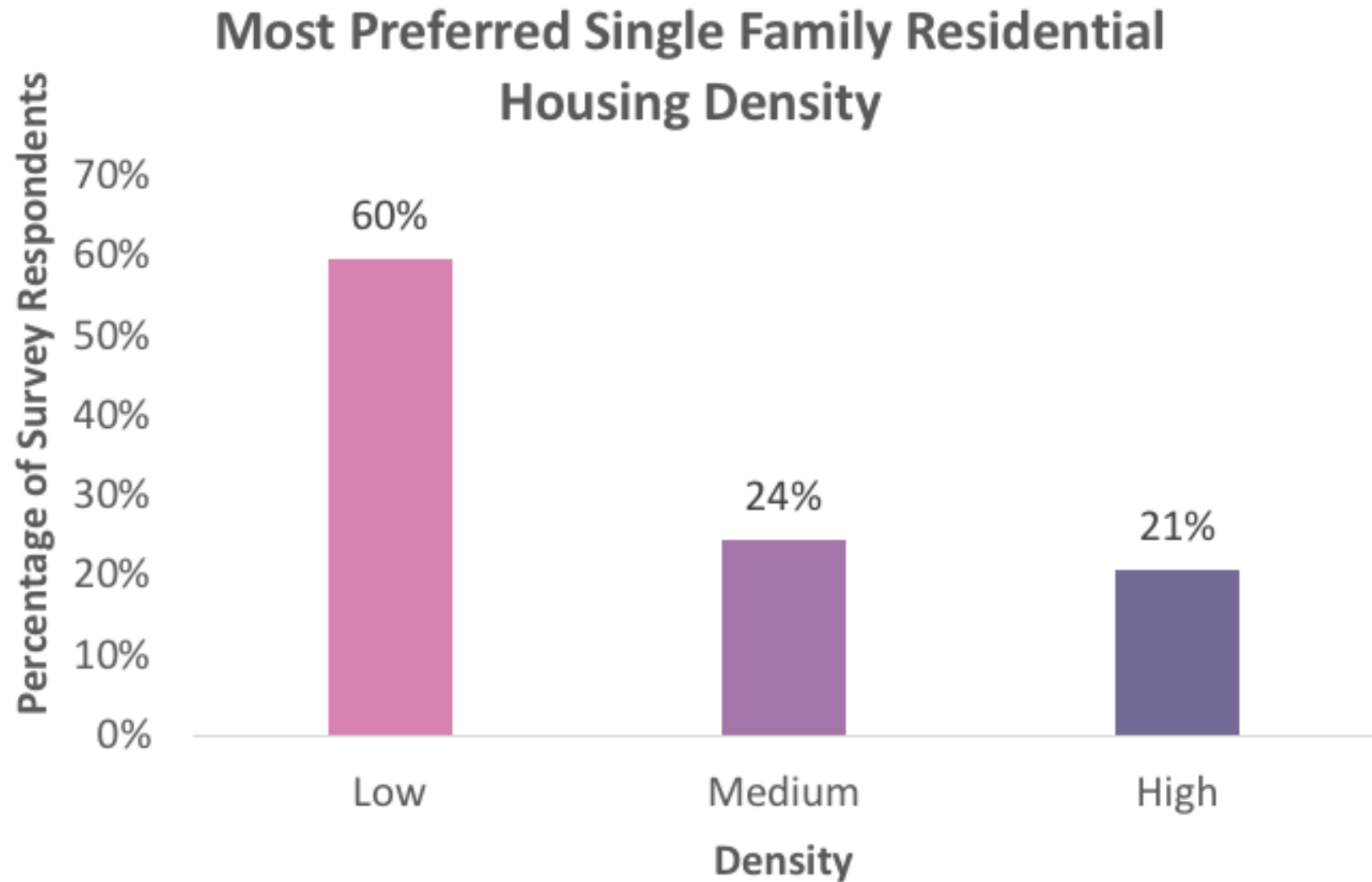


Figure 8.10: Percentage of Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred single family residential housing type by density



Figure 8.11: Single family residential housing types on the visual preference survey

Single Family Residential

In the single family residential category, Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred the low-density single family residential home.

Figure 8.11 shows the degree to which Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred the low-density single family residential home. As Figure 8.11 shows, 60% (or 53/89) of Spooktacular survey respondents ranked the low-density home as their most preferred choice, 24% (or 21/86) ranked the medium-density home as their most preferred choice, and 21% (or 11/87) ranked the high-density home as their most preferred choice.

preferred the low-density single family residential home.

This trend indicates that there was some degree of consensus among Spooktacular survey respondents that a low-density home is the most suitable single family residential home to be located in the West End. In addition, it is worth noting that the existing housing stock in the West End neighborhood in general does not support low-density single family residential development (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the average number of housing units per structure in the West End neighborhood).

The trends presented in Figure 8.11 demonstrate that the majority of Spooktacular survey respondents most

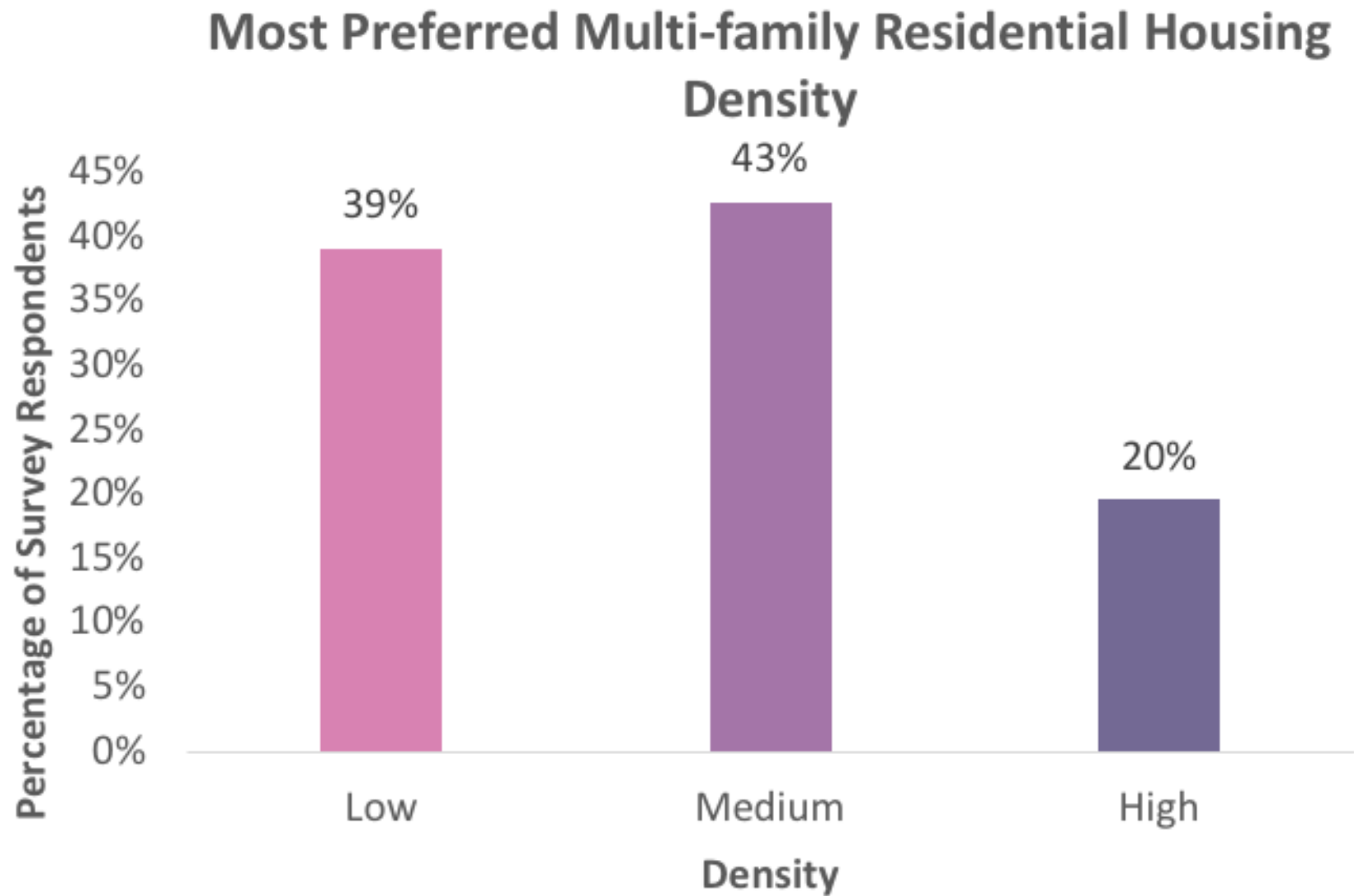


Figure 8.12: Percentage of Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred multi-family housing type by housing density



Figure 8.13: Multi-family housing types on the visual preference survey

Multi-Family Residential

In the multi-family residential category, Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred the medium-density multi-family residential home.

Figure 8.13 shows the degree to which Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred the medium-density multi-family residential home. As Figure 8.13 shows, 43% (or 38/89) of Spooktacular survey respondents ranked the medium-density home as their most preferred choice, 39% (or 34/87) ranked the low-density home as their most preferred choice, and 20% (or 17/87) ranked the high-density home as their most preferred choice.

The trends presented in Figure 8.13 demonstrate that there was not a clear consensus among Spooktacular survey respondents regarding what was their most preferred multi-family residential housing type. Yet, Spooktacular survey

respondents most preferred the medium-density multi-family residential home.

Spooktacular VPS Respondent Residential Housing Preferences Conclusion

The Spooktacular VPS assessed survey respondents' most preferred mixed-use, single family residential, and multi-family residential housing types according to different home densities. Table 8.0 summarizes Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type and the degree to which Spooktacular survey respondent's most preferred this choice.

Housing Type	Most Preferred	Percentage
Mixed-Use	High-density	64% (or 60/94)
Single Family Residential	Low-density	60% (or 53/89)
Multi-Family Residential	Medium-density	43% (or 38/89)

Table 8.0: Summary of Spooktacular respondents' most preferred housing type by density

respondents most preferred the high-density mixed-use home, the low-density single family residential home, and the medium-density multi-family home. While the majority of Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred the high-density mixed-use home and the low-density single-family residential home, less than half of Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred the medium-density multi-family residential home, suggesting that there was not a clear consensus among survey respondents in this housing type category.

Taken together, findings from this analysis demonstrates that Spooktacular survey respondents did not unilaterally prefer one housing density over another. Rather, housing density preferences varied according to the type of housing under consideration. For example, while survey respondents most preferred the high-density mixed-use home, they most preferred the low-density single family residential home.

As this analysis has shown, Spooktacular survey

In general, Spooktacular survey respondents' housing preferences in the mixed-use and multifamily categories reflect the existing housing stock in the West End neighborhood. As discussed in Chapter 3, the majority of homes in the West End neighborhood have three or more units and are therefore relatively dense. The fact that Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they most preferred the high-density mixed-use home and the medium-density multi-family residential home suggests that Spooktacular survey respondents' housing preferences are relatively aligned with the existing housing stock in the neighborhood.

Spooktacular survey respondents' preference for low-density single family residential buildings, however, does not align with the existing housing stock in the surrounding neighborhood. A small proportion of the existing housing stock in the West End neighborhood are low-density single family residential homes, or homes with one unit, reflecting a mismatch between the neighborhood's existing housing stock and what Spooktacular survey respondents would like to see in the neighborhood.

Most Preferred Housing Type and Density by Age of Survey Respondent

Age	Mixed-Use	Single Family Residential	Multi-family Residential
18-24	H	L	L
25-39	H	L	M
40-54	H	L	M
55-74	L	L M	L
75+	--	--	--

■ L = Low-Density
 ■ M = Medium-Density
 ■ H = High-Density

Split cells colors indicate equal preference for a given density.

Figure 8.14: Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type by age. For example, individuals between 18 and 24 years old most prefer the high-density mixed-use home.

Most Preferred Housing Type by Age

CCP examined Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type by the age of the survey respondent. CCP conducted this analysis in order to understand the degree to which Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type varied by the age of the survey respondent. In addition, CCP conducted this analysis in order to better understand the housing preferences of young professionals (or individuals in the 18 to 39 year old age range) and older individuals (individuals in the 55 to 74 year old age range). CCP was interested in examining the most preferred housing types among these age groups in particular given that the Client indicated that young professionals and older residents are two groups of people that are expected to move into the redeveloped mills in the West End neighborhood. Thus, better understanding these age groups' most preferred types of housing is critical to future planning efforts.

Figure 8.15 presents Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type by the age of the survey respondent. For each age group in each row, the lightest-color blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a low-density home. The second lightest-color blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a medium-density home. The darkest blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a high-density home. Blocks that reflect two or more colors indicate instances where

Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred more than one housing density (e.g. the low- and medium-density home) to the same degree.

Figure 8.15 illustrates the housing density preferences of Spooktacular survey respondents by their age group and by the type of housing. Of the respondents that were aged 18-24, 100% (n=8) most preferred the high-density mixed-use home, 50% (n=6) most preferred the low-density single family residential home, and 50% (n=6) most preferred the low-density multi-family residential home.

Of the respondents that were aged 25-39, 67% (n=49) most preferred the high-density mixed-use home, 63% (n=48) most preferred the low-density single family residential home, and 46% (n=48) most preferred the medium-density multi-family residential home.

Of the respondents that were aged 40-54, 65% (n=20) most preferred the high-density mixed-use home, 61% (n=18) most preferred the low-density single family residential home, and 40% (n=20) most preferred the medium-density multi-family residential home.

Of the respondents that were aged 55-74, 50% (n=10) most preferred the low-density mixed-use home, 45% (n=11) most preferred the low-density and medium-density single family residential home in equal proportion, and 60% (n=10) most preferred the low-density multi-family residential home. Figure 8.14 does not report the most preferred housing preferences from individuals older than 75, as no Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they were older than 75 years old.

As Figure 8.15 shows, all age groups below 54 years old most preferred the high-density mixed-use home. This trend may reflect the fact that younger age groups like being located near amenities, such as bars or coffee shops, that tend to be located in high-density, mixed-use areas.

In the single-family category, there was not much variation in survey respondents' most preferred housing type according to their age. This trend suggests that in general, Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred low-density single family residential home regardless of their age (apart from the 55-74 age group, which preferred the low- and medium-density home in equal proportion), reflecting some degree of consensus in this category. It is worth noting that the single family residential housing stock in the West End neighborhood is relatively limited, however.

In the multifamily category, the youngest age group (individuals aged 18-24) and the eldest age group (individuals aged 55-74) most preferred the low-density

multi-family home, while middle-aged individuals (individuals aged 25-54) most preferred the medium-density home. This trend may reflect the fact that middle-aged individuals, who are more likely to have children than the other age groups, might like living in a somewhat higher-density home, since such homes might provide more opportunities to facilitate child-rearing (e.g. proximity to other children that could serve as either playmates for their own children or neighbors that could help with childcare).



Figure 8.15: Volunteers sport Halloween costumes at Spooktacular



Figure 8.16: CCP team members in costume

Most Preferred Housing Type and Density by Annual Household Income of Survey Respondent

Household Income	Mixed-Use	Single Family Residential	Multi-family Residential
Under \$20,000	H	L	L
\$20,000-\$34,999	H	L M	L
\$35,000-\$49,999	H	L	L M H
\$50,000-\$74,999	H	L	M
\$75,000-\$99,999	M	L	M
\$100,000+	H	L	L H
Prefer not to answer	H	L H	M

■ L = Low-Density
 ■ M = Medium-Density
 ■ H = High-Density

**Split cells colors indicate equal preference for a given density.*

Figure 8.17: Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type by annual household income of survey respondent. For example, individuals with an annual household income less than \$20,000 most preferred the high-density mixed-use home.

Most Preferred Housing Type by Household Income

CCP next examined Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type and density by the annual household income of the survey respondent. CCP conducted this analysis in order to understand the degree to which Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type and density varied by the household income of the survey respondent.

Figure 8.16 presents Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type by the annual household income of the survey respondent. For each income bracket, the lightest-color blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a low-density home. The second lightest-color blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a medium-density home. The darkest blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a high-density home. Blocks that reflect two or more colors indicate instances where Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred more than one housing density (e.g. the low- and medium-density home) to the same degree.

In the mixed use category, individuals across all household income brackets most preferred the high-density mixed-use development, apart from the individuals with a household income between \$75,000 and \$99,999, which most preferred the medium-density mixed-use home. In the

single family residential category, Spooktacular survey respondents in general most preferred the low-density single family residential home regardless of household income. In the multi-family residential category, housing density preferences varied according to household income. In general, survey respondents that reported lower household incomes most preferred the low-density multi-family home, while individuals in higher household income brackets most preferred the medium- to high-density multi-family homes.

Most Preferred Housing Type and Density by Housing Tenure of Survey Respondent

Housing Tenure	Mixed-Use	Single Family Residential	Multi-family Residential
Rent	H	L	M
Own	H	L	L
Other	H	H	M

■ L = Low-Density
 ■ M = Medium-Density
 ■ H = High-Density

Figure 8.18: Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type by housing tenure of survey respondent. For example, survey respondents that were renters most preferred the high-density mixed-use home.

Most Preferred Housing Type by Tenure

CCP next examined Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type by the housing tenure of the survey respondent. CCP conducted this analysis in order to understand the degree to which Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type varied according to whether the survey respondent rented, owned, or lived in another living arrangement.

Figure 8.18 presents Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing type by the housing tenure of the survey respondent. In each row, the lightest-color blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a low-density home. The second lightest-color blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a medium-density home. The darkest blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a high-density home.

Figure 8.18 illustrates the housing type preferences of Spooktacular survey respondents according to whether they rented or owned their home or lived in another living arrangement, such as living at home with their parents. Among renters, 64% (n=53) most preferred the high-density mixed-use home, 70% (n=50) most preferred the low-density single family residential home, and 43% (n=51) most preferred the medium-density multi-family residential home. Among homeowners, 61% (n=28) most preferred the high-density mixed-use home, 43% (n=28) most preferred the low-density single family residential home, and 39% (n=28)

most preferred the low-density multi-family residential home. Among Spooktacular survey respondents that reported that they lived in another living arrangement, 83% (n=6) most preferred the high-density mixed-use home, 60% (n=5) most preferred the high-density single family residential home, and 50% (n=5) most preferred the medium-density multi-family residential home.

As Figure 8.18 shows, Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred the high-density mixed-use home regardless of whether they rented or owned their home or reported that they lived in another living arrangement. This trend suggests that Spooktacular survey respondents reached some degree of consensus surrounding their most preferred mixed-use home regardless of their housing tenure.

In the single family residential category, renters and owners most preferred the low-density single family residential home, while individuals living in “other” living arrangements most preferred the high-density single family residential category. The multi-family residential category reflected the greatest variation in housing preferences. Renters and individuals living in another living arrangement most preferred the medium-density multi-family residential home, while homeowners most preferred the low-density multi-family residential home. This trend might reflect the fact that renters and individuals living in another living arrangement might be used to living in a denser environment, such as an apartment building, while homeowners might be used to living in lower-density homes located on a single plot of land.

This section examined variation in Spooktacular survey respondents’ most preferred housing preferences according to various demographic characteristics associated with the survey respondent including their age, annual household income, and housing tenure. This analysis found that the single family residential and mixed-use categories reflected the least variation in most preferred housing type, where in general, survey respondents most preferred the low-density single family home and the high-density mixed-use home regardless of their age, annual household income, or housing tenure.

In the multi-family residential housing category, however, the most preferred housing type varied by the demographic characteristics of survey respondents. Younger survey respondents (aged 18 to 24) and older survey respondents (aged 55 to 74) most preferred the low-density mixed-use home, while middle-aged survey respondents (aged 25 to 54) most preferred the medium-density mixed-use home. With respect to income, individuals with lower annual household incomes in general most preferred the low-density multi-family home, while individuals with higher annual household incomes

Spooktacular VPS Respondent Housing Preferences by Demographic Characteristics Conclusion

while individuals with higher annual household incomes most preferred the medium- to high-density multi-family home.

These housing preferences illuminate the degree to which housing preferences are aligned with future development in the West End neighborhood. The fact that the majority of Spooktacular survey respondents most preferred the high-density mixed-use home aligns well with the incoming mill redevelopment projects in the West End, which will be in high-density, mixed use buildings. On the other hand, survey respondents' preference for low-density single family residential homes does not align well with the existing housing stock in Chicopee Center; this finding suggests that there is some degree of mismatch between survey respondents' housing preferences and existing housing assets in the neighborhood. Finally, the fact that survey respondents most preferred the medium-density multi-family home suggests that housing preferences are closely aligned with existing housing assets in the neighborhood, as the West End neighborhood is home to a number of medium-density multi-family homes.

I would like to live within walking distance of restaurants, bars, and/or coffee shops.

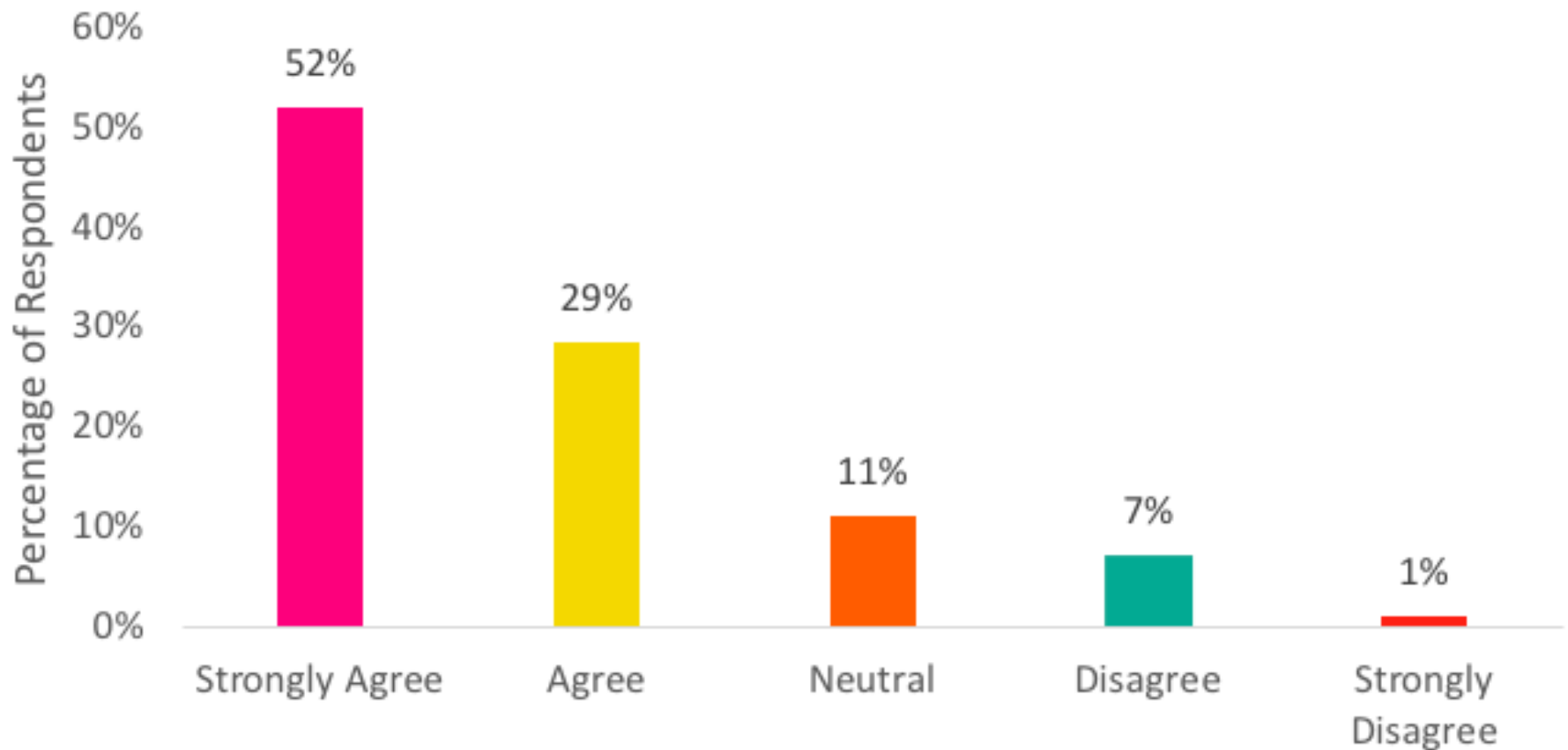


Figure 8.19: Spooktacular survey respondent preferences for living near restaurants, bars, and coffee shops, N = 98

Neighborhood Characteristics

Restaurants, Bars, and Coffee Shops

The majority of Spooktacular survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of restaurants, bars, and/or coffee shops. Specifically, 81% (or 79/98) of Spooktacular survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of these amenities. Another 11% (or 11/98) reported that they felt neutral about living within walking distance of these amenities, and 8% (or 8/98) of Spooktacular survey respondents disagreed.

Taken together, these trends suggest that the vast majority of Spooktacular survey respondents would like to live within walking distance of restaurants, bars, and/or coffee shops. In addition, these trends highlight one of the potential benefits of incorporating mixed-use zoning in the West End, as mixed-use zoning encourages walkability and proximity to venues such as restaurants, bars, or coffee shops.

I would like to live within walking distance of places where I can buy fresh food.

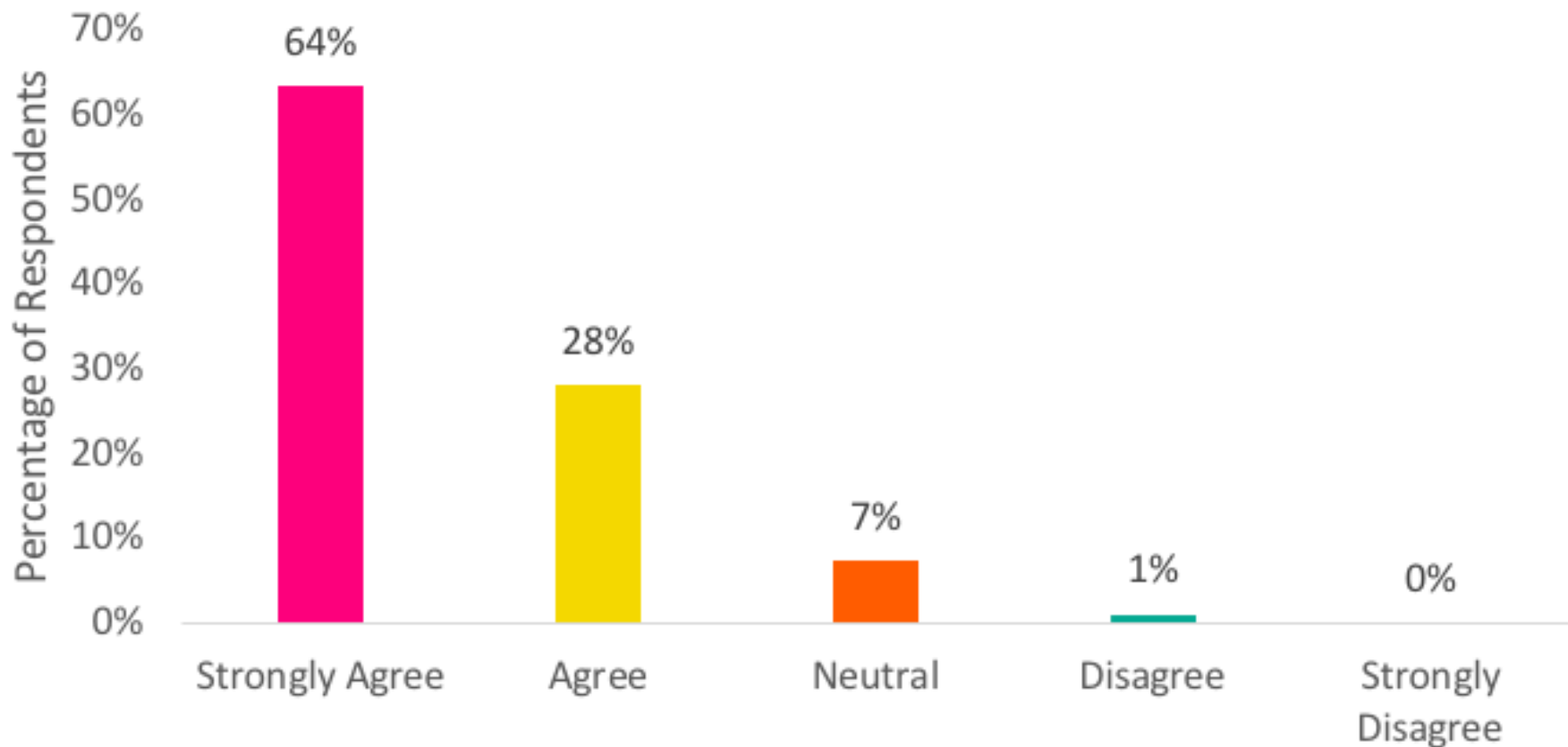


Figure 8.20: Spooktacular survey respondent preferences for living near places to buy fresh food, N = 96

Fresh Food

The majority of Spooktacular survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of places where they could buy fresh food. Specifically, 92% (or 88/96) of Spooktacular survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of places to buy fresh food. Another 7% (or 7/96) reported that they felt neutral about living within walking distance of places to buy fresh food, and 1% (or 1/96) of Spooktacular survey respondents disagreed.

Collectively these findings suggest that the vast majority of Spooktacular survey respondents would like to live within walking distance of places to buy fresh food. These trends illuminate where there might be a gap between neighborhood needs and market demand. While survey respondents indicated that they would like to live within walking distance of places to buy fresh food, the business inventory map in Chapter 2 documents that there are few places to buy fresh groceries in the West End neighborhood. In addition, these trends reiterate findings from previous public engagement efforts in Chicopee, which have indicated that food access is a critical challenge in the West End neighborhood in particular (see Chapter 6).

I would like to live within walking distance of public parks, libraries, recreation centers, and/or social clubs.

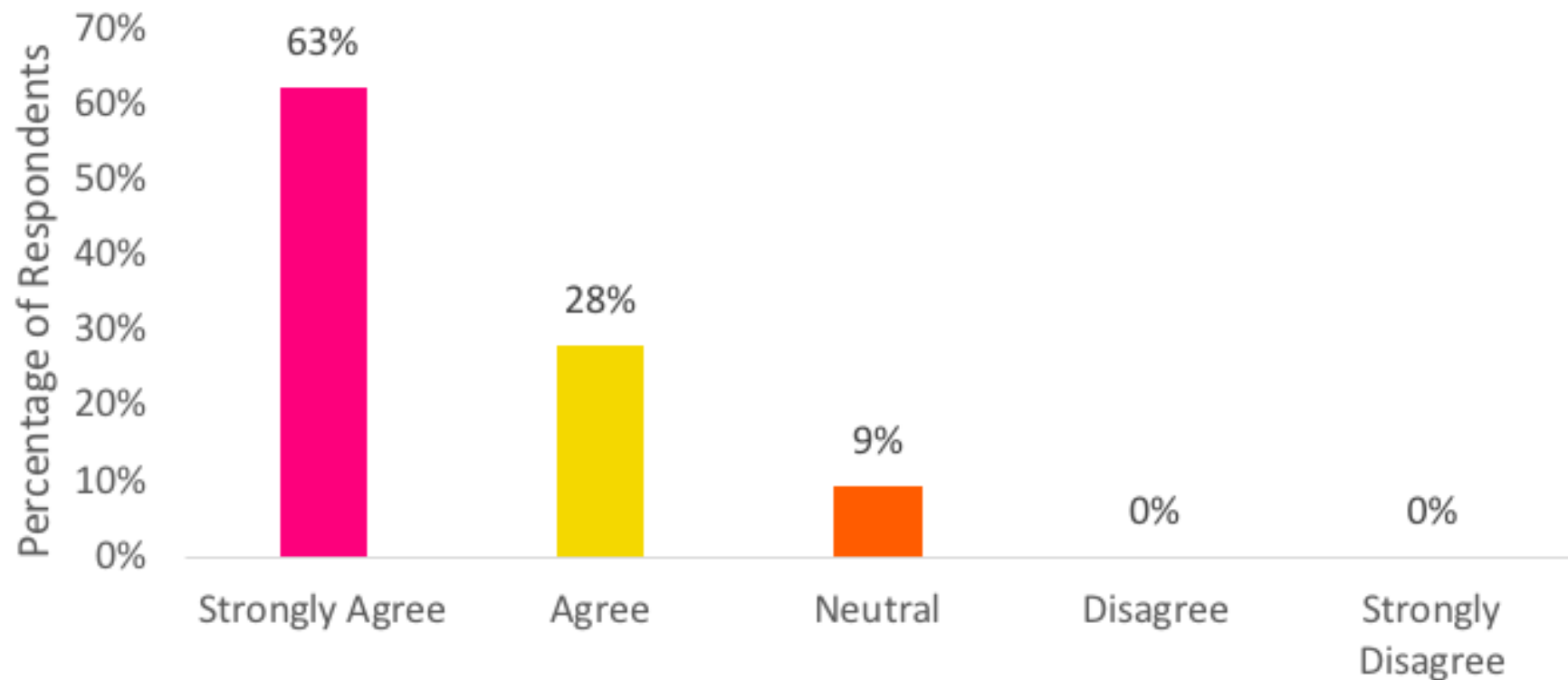


Figure 8.21: Spooktacular survey respondent preferences for living near public resources, N = 96

Public Resources

The majority of Spooktacular survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of public parks, libraries, recreation centers, and/or social clubs. Specifically, 91% (or 87/96) of Spooktacular survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of these amenities. Another 9% (or 9/96) reported that they felt neutral about living within walking distance of these public places, and no Spooktacular survey respondents disagreed.

Taken together, these trends indicate that the vast majority of Spooktacular survey respondents would like to live within walking distance of public spaces such as public parks or public libraries. While people of all income levels may enjoy spending time in public spaces, these public resources often offer critical resources and support to low-income populations. Since a high proportion of Spooktacular survey respondents fell along the lower-end of the income distribution, it is not surprising that many would like to live within walking distance of public places.

I would like to live within walking distance of medical services.

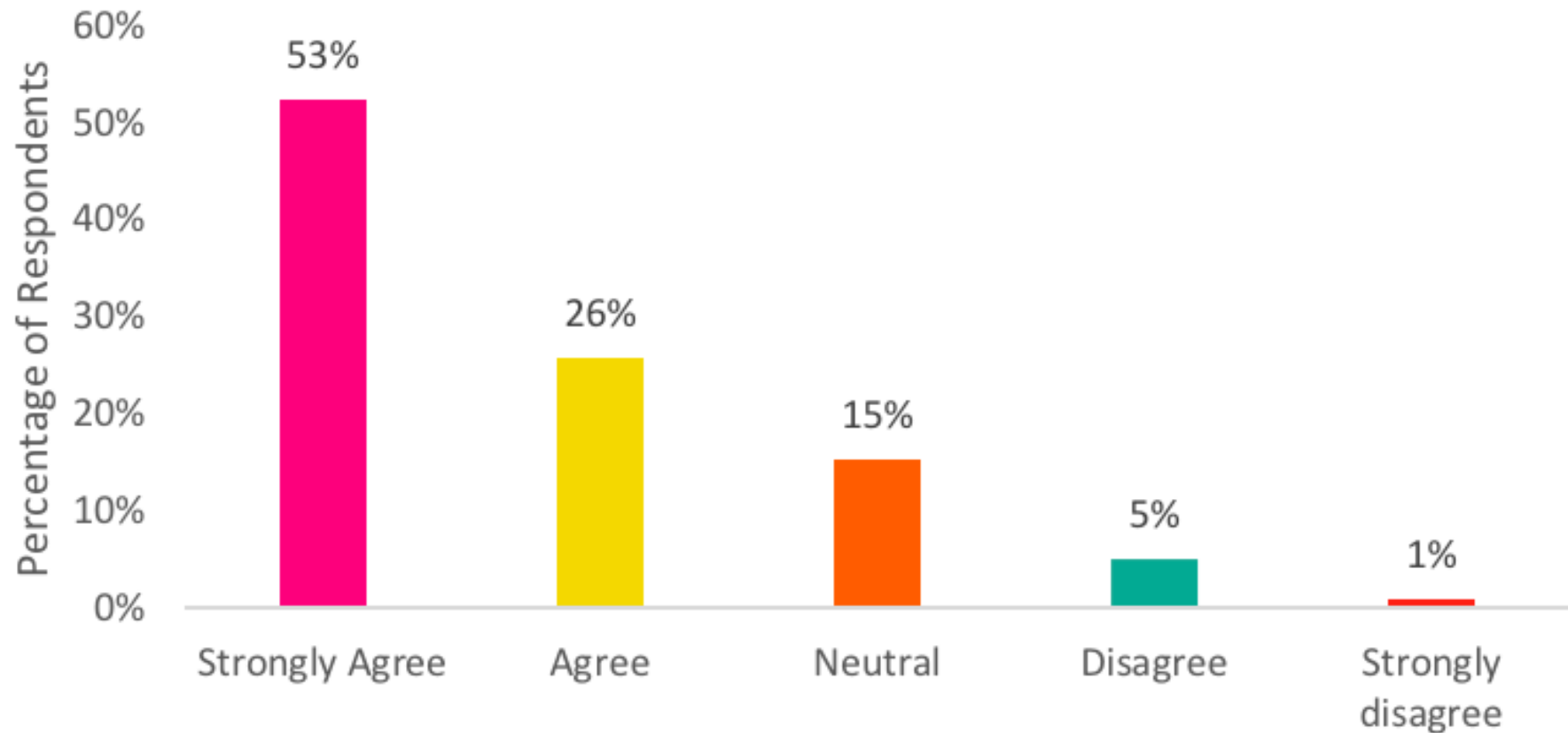


Figure 8.22: Spooktacular survey respondent preferences for living near medical services, N = 97

Medical Services

The majority of Spooktacular survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of medical services. Specifically, 79% (or 76/97) of Spooktacular survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of these amenities. Another 15% (or 15/97) reported that they felt neutral about living within walking distance of medical services, and 6% (or 6/97) of respondents disagreed.

While a majority of Spooktacular survey respondents agreed that they would like to live close to medical services, it is noteworthy that roughly one in five survey respondents (21% or 21/97) either felt neutral or disagreed about wanting to live near medical services. Since Spooktacular survey respondents were young in general, one interpretation of this trend is that living close to medical services is not of critical importance to a group of young people who in general might have lower healthcare needs.

I would like to have a job commute that is under 30 minutes.

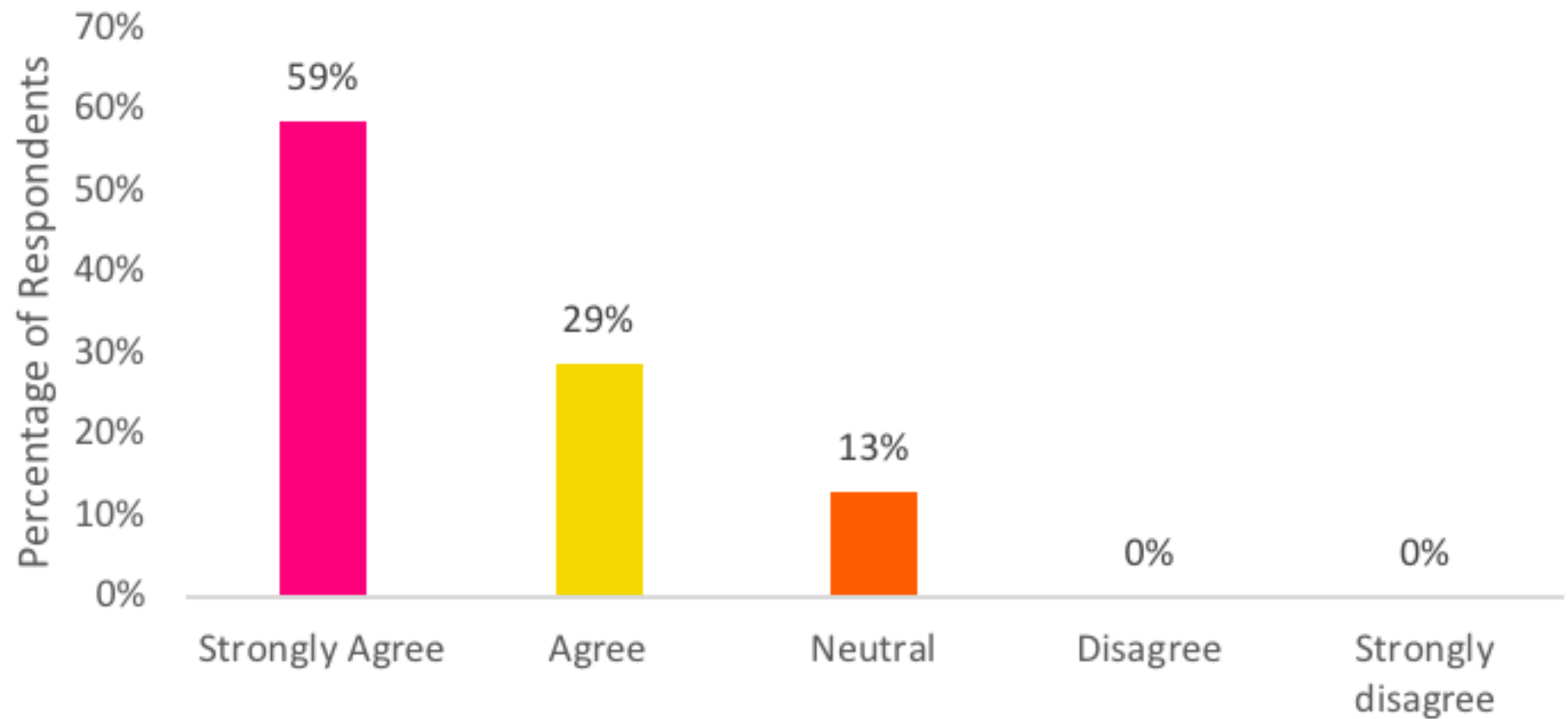


Figure 8.23: Spooktacular survey respondent preferences for living within 30 minutes of their job, N = 94

Job Commute

The majority of Spooktacular survey respondents agreed that they would like to have a job commute under 30 minutes long. Specifically, 87% (or 82/94) of Spooktacular survey respondents agreed that they would like to have a job commute under 30 minutes long. Another 13% (or 12/94) reported that they felt neutral about having a job commute under 30 minutes long, and no survey respondents disagreed.

Taken together, these trends suggest that living close to work and having a job commute under 30 minutes was important to Spooktacular survey respondents. These trends make sense given that roughly 10% of Spooktacular survey respondents reported that they rely on walking as their primary mode of transportation; thus, having a short job commute would be critical for these group of people. In addition, one factor that might explain the relatively high proportion of Spooktacular survey respondents that felt neutrally about having a job commute under 30 minutes long is that several Spooktacular survey respondents wrote directly on their survey that they did not have a job. Thus, a short job commute would not be relevant for this group.

Online Visual Preference Survey Findings

CCP collected 66 survey responses to the online VPS. This section will examine findings from the online VPS, starting with an overview of the demographic characteristics of online VPS survey respondents. In addition, this section will provide an overview of online VPS survey respondents' most preferred mixed-use, single family residential, and multi-family residential homes. Lastly, this section will conclude with an examination of online VPS survey respondents' most preferred housing type according to various demographic characteristics including their age, annual household income, and housing tenure.

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Figure 8.24: Postcards disseminated at Spooktacular promoting the online VPS

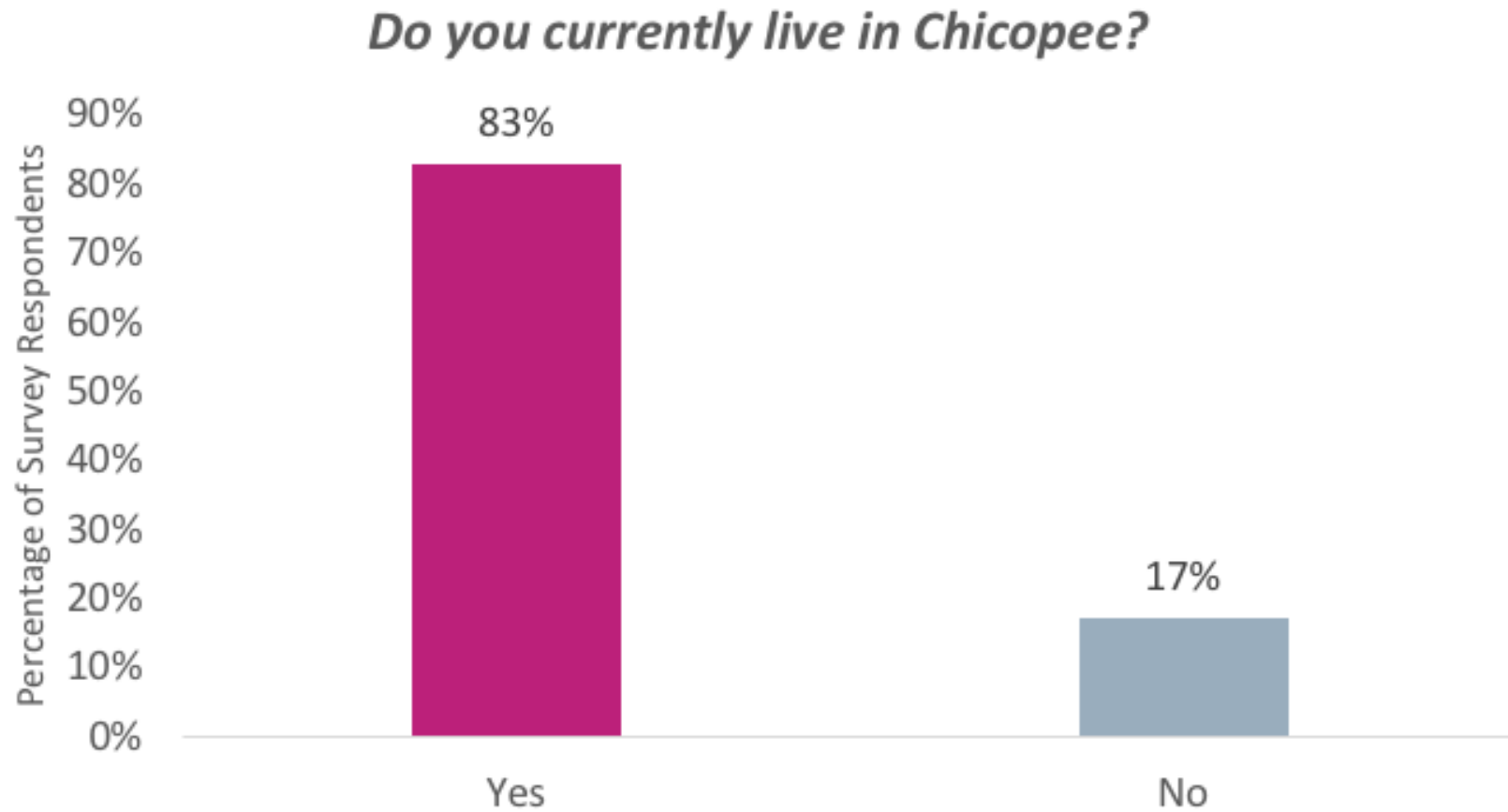


Figure 8.25: Current residency reported by online VPS survey respondents

Demographic Characteristics

Residency

In the online VPS, 83% (or 53/64) of online VPS survey respondents reported that they lived in Chicopee, suggesting that the online VPS captured a broad swath of opinions from residents currently living in Chicopee (Figure 8.23).

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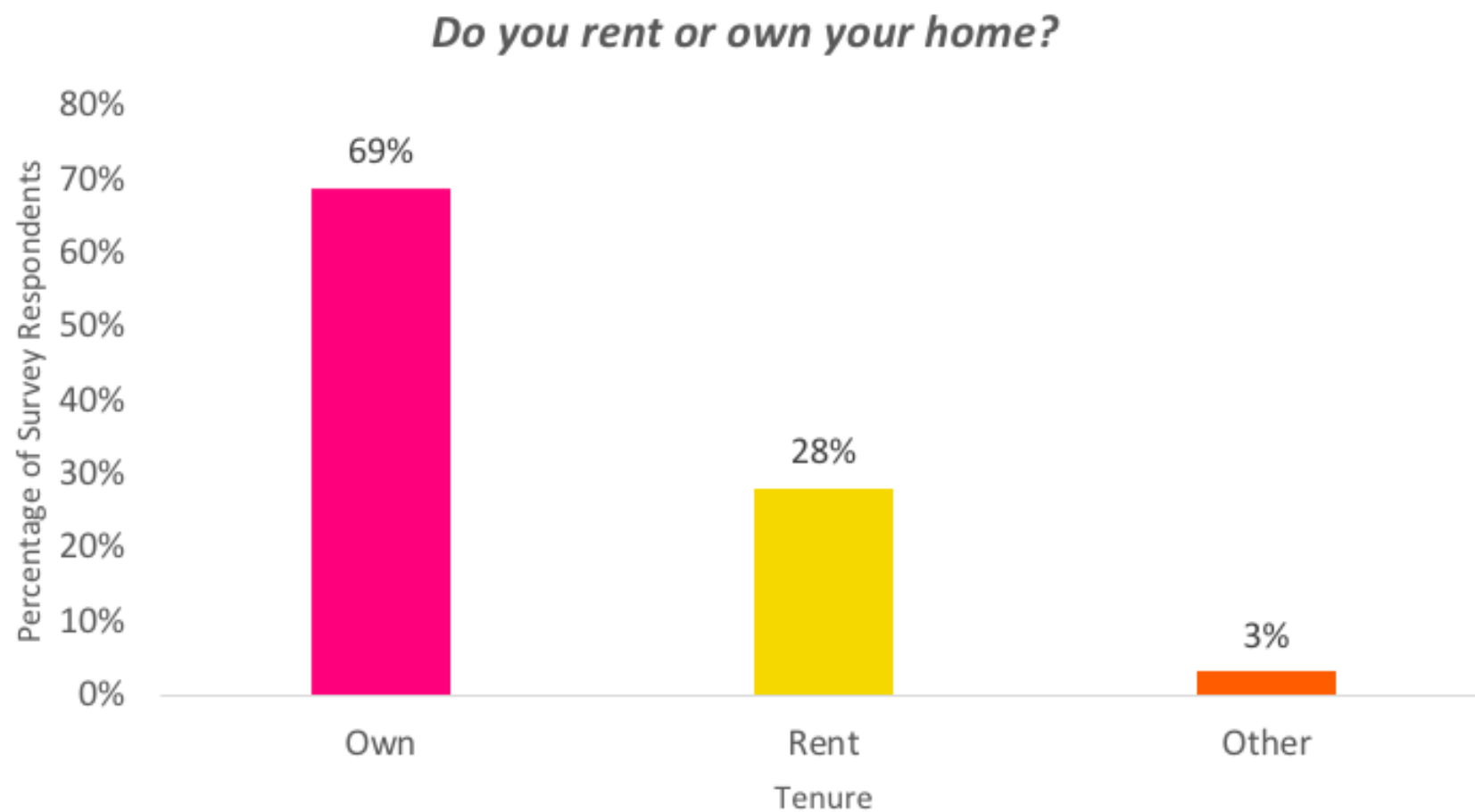


Figure 8.26 Current housing tenure reported by online VPS survey respondents

Housing Tenure

The majority of online VPS survey respondents (69%, or 44/64) reported that they own their home, while 28% (or 18/64) of online VPS survey respondents reported that they rented their home. Another 3% (or 2/64) of online VPS survey respondents reported that they lived in an “other” living arrangement. Taken together, these findings suggest that the majority of online VPS survey respondents reported that they were homeowners rather than renters. Figure 8.26 compares the housing tenure trends reported by online VPS survey respondents compared to housing tenure trends among residents living in the West End neighborhood, according to the U.S. Census Bureau’s 2016 1-year estimates. As Figure 8.27 shows, roughly 20% of West End residents own their homes, while the vast majority, or 69%, of online VPS survey respondents reported that they owned their home. The housing tenure trends reported by online VPS survey respondents do not mirror overall housing tenure trends among residents living within the West End neighborhood, according to the U.S. Census Bureau’s 2016 1-year estimates. In general, this finding suggests that online VPS survey respondents are not representative of West End residents with respect to housing tenure.

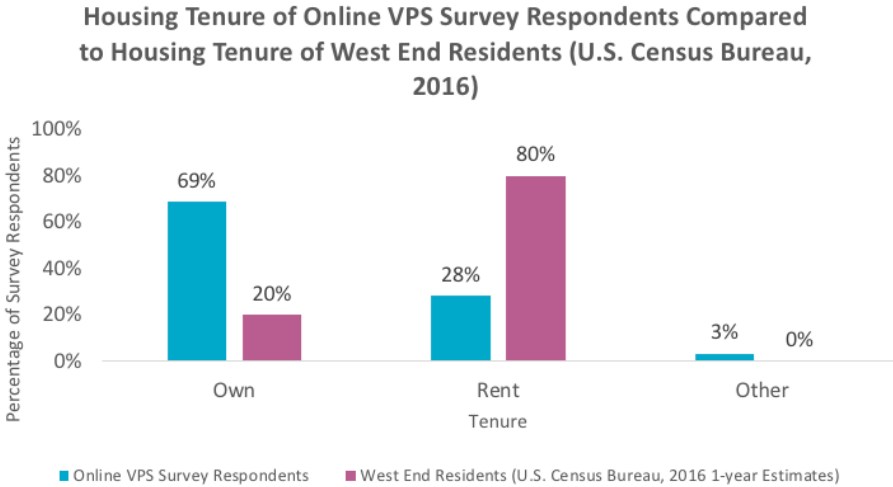


Figure 8.27: Housing tenure of online VPS survey respondents compared to residents living in the West End

What is your primary mode of transportation?

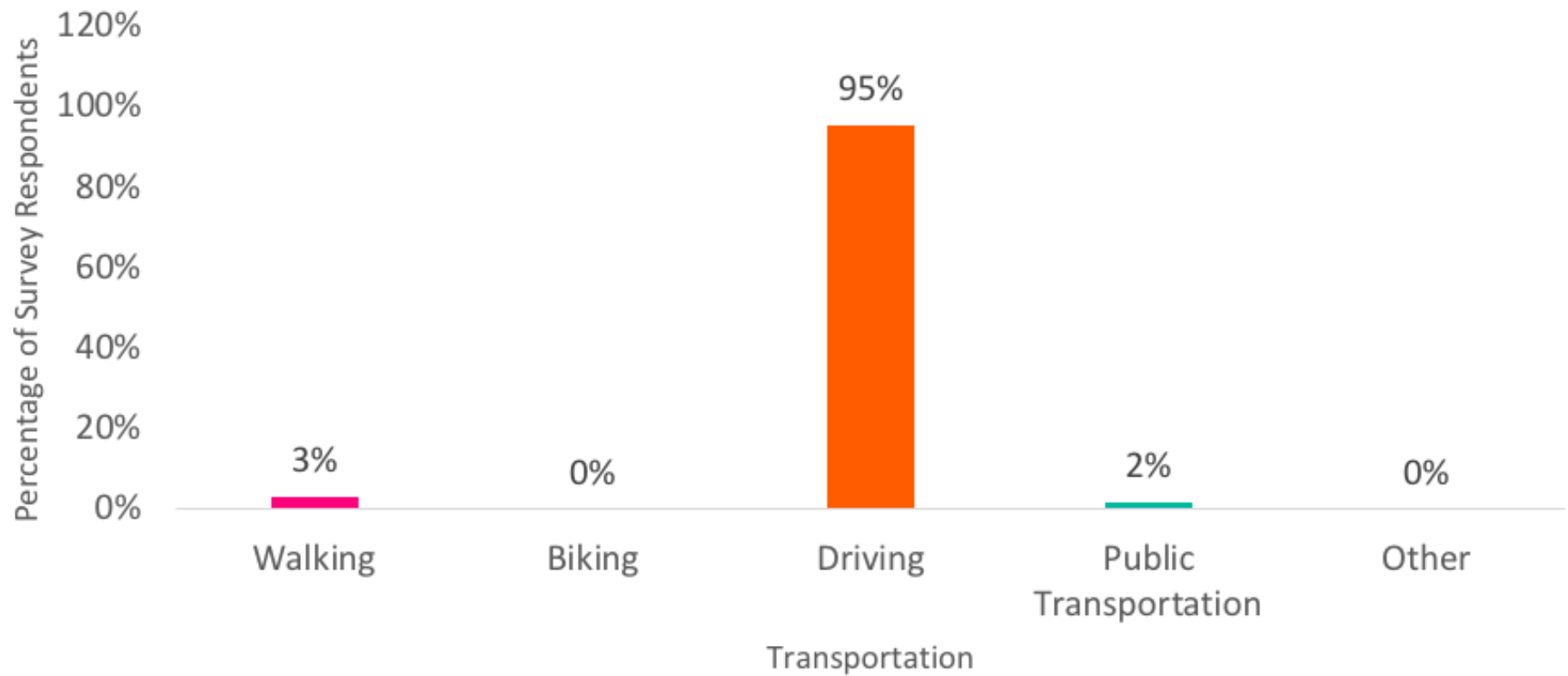


Figure 8.28: Primary mode of transportation of online VPS survey respondents

Transportation Use

Almost all, or 95% (or 61/64), of the online VPS survey respondents reported that driving was their primary mode of transportation (Figure 8.27). Approximately 3% (or 2/64) of online VPS survey respondents reported that walking was their primary mode of transportation and another 2% (or 1/64) of online VPS survey respondents reported that taking public transportation was their primary mode of transportation. No survey respondents reported that biking or taking another form of transportation was their primary mode of transportation.

Collectively, these findings suggest that the majority of online VPS survey respondents rely on automobiles to get around. The fact that no online VPS survey respondents reported that biking was their primary mode of transportation and that few online VPS survey respondents reported that taking public transportation was their primary mode of transportation may suggest that there is inadequate biking and public transportation infrastructure in place to support these modes of transportation.

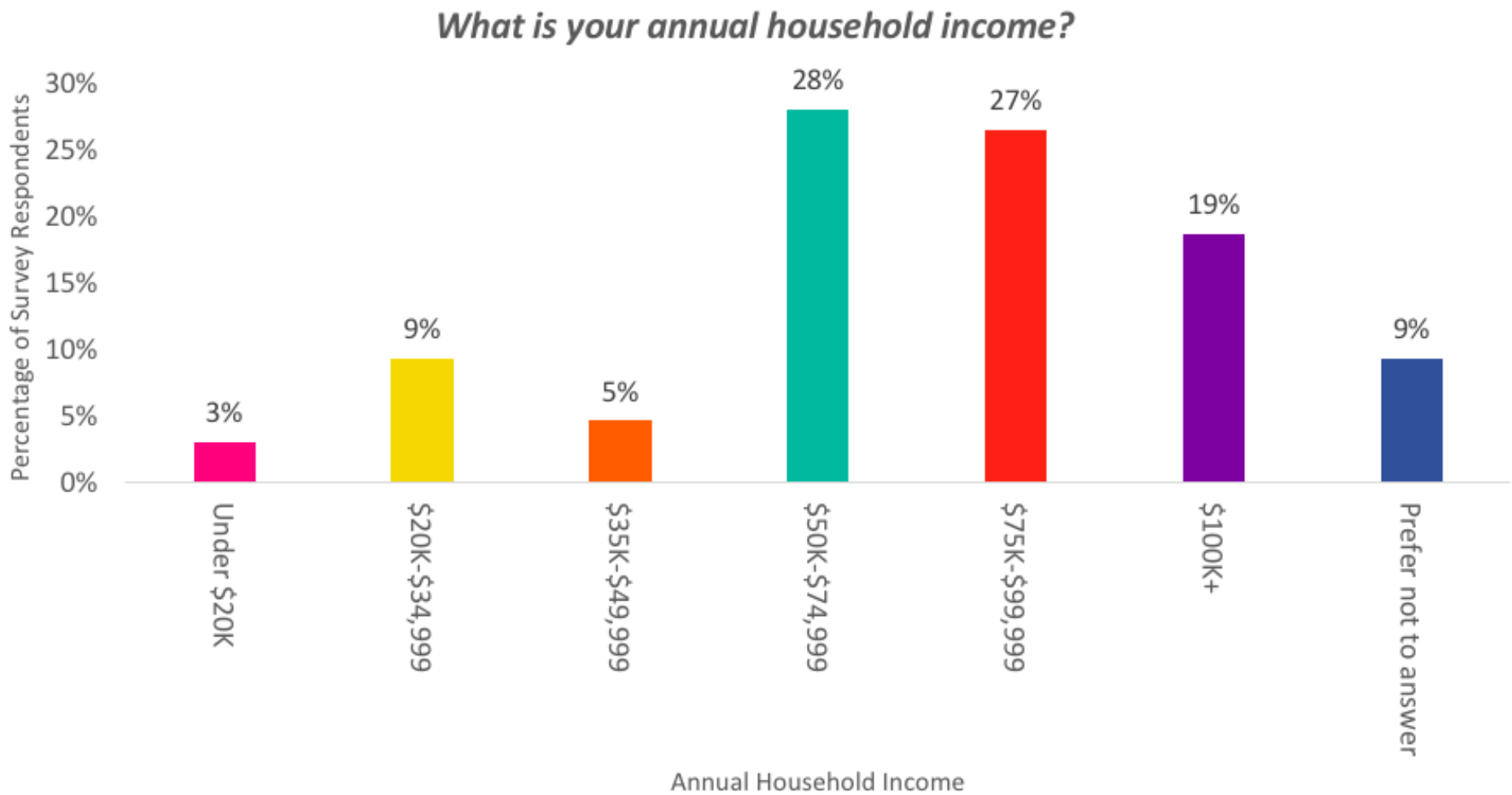


Figure 8.29: Household income of online VPS survey respondents

Household Income

The majority of online VPS survey respondents, or 55% (or 35/64), reported that their annual household income is between \$50,000 and \$99,999. Another 19% (or 12/64) of online VPS survey respondents reported that their annual household income was over \$100,000.

Approximately 17% of survey respondents (or 11/64) reported that their annual household income was less than \$50,000. Finally, roughly 9% (or 6/64) of online VPS survey respondents said that they preferred not to answer the question.

Taken together, these trends suggest that the annual household incomes reported by online VPS survey respondents do not closely mirror the median household income in the city of Chicopee overall, which is roughly \$46,000. More than half of online VPS survey respondents reported an annual household income greater than \$50,000, higher than the median household income in the city of Chicopee.

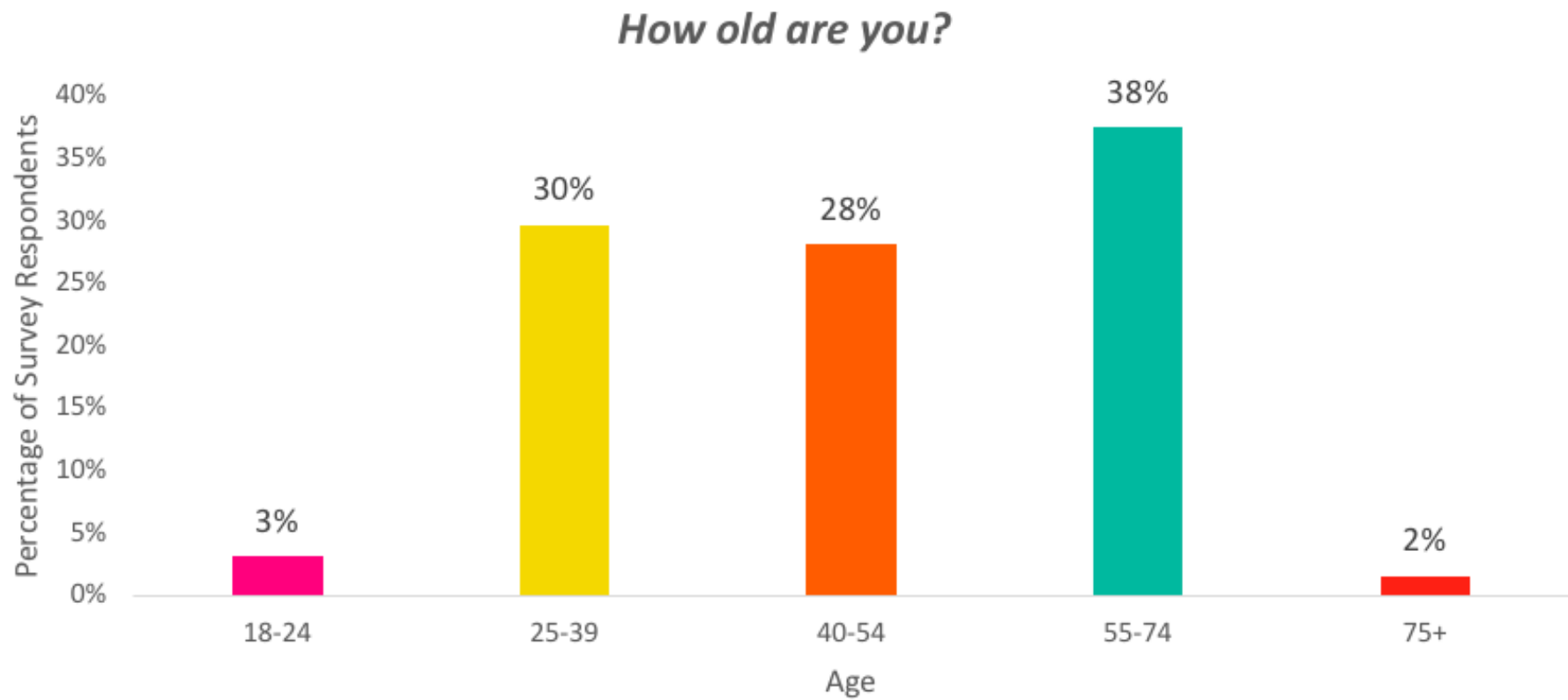


Figure 8.30: Age of online VPS survey respondents

Age

The greatest share of online VPS survey respondents, or 38% (or 24/64) reported that they were between 55 and 74 years old. Another 30% (or 19/64) of online VPS survey respondents reported that they were between 25 and 39 years old. Roughly 28% of online VPS survey respondents reported that they were between 40 and 54 years old, while 3% (or 2/64) reported that they were between 18 and 24 years old. Last, 2% (or 1/64) of online VPS survey respondents reported that they were older than 75 years old.

Taken together, these findings suggest that the majority of online VPS survey respondents reported that they were middle-aged (i.e. between 25 and 54 years old) or entering retirement age (i.e. 55 to 74 years old). The online VPS, on the other hand, did not capture a wide swath of opinions from the youngest and eldest age groups (i.e. the 18 to 24 or older than 75 year old age groups).

Age of Online VPS Survey Respondents Compared to Age of West End Residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016)

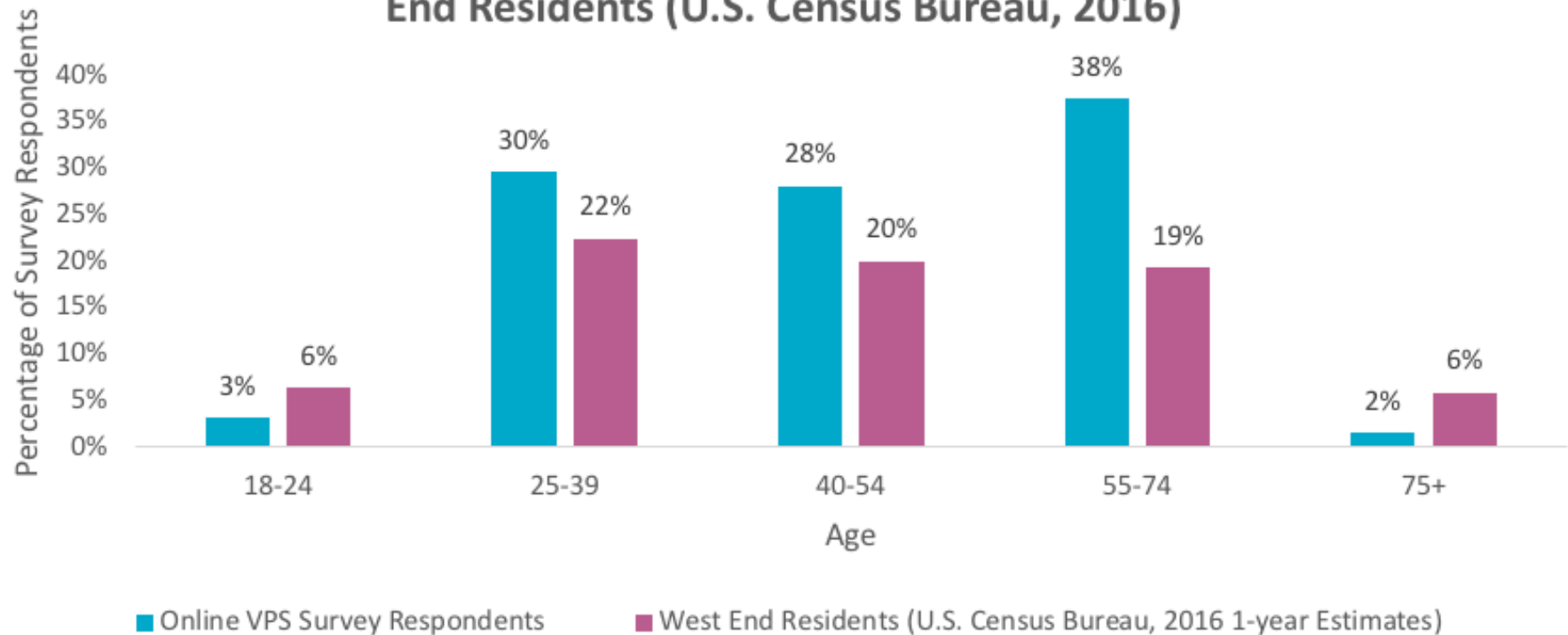


Figure 8.31: Age of online VPS survey respondents compared to residents living in the West End

Figure 8.30 compares the age distribution of online VPS survey respondents compared to the age distribution among residents living in the West End neighborhood, according to the U.S. Census Bureau's 2016 1-year estimates. As Figure 8.30 shows, the age distribution of online VPS survey respondents closely mirrors the age distribution of West End neighborhood residents in most age cohorts apart from the 55 to 74 year old age cohort. As Figure 8.30 shows, while individuals aged 55 to 74 years old compose roughly 19% of the West End population, roughly 38% of online VPS survey respondents reported that they were in the same age group.

Comparing these two age distributions shows that in general, the age distribution of online VPS survey respondents closely mirror the age distribution of the West End neighborhood, apart from the 55 to 74 year old age cohort. The fact that a high proportion of total online VPS survey respondents reported that they were between 55 and 74 years old might relate to the fact that the online VPS was disseminated on Facebook, and Facebook tends to be popular among this age group.

Online VPS Respondent Demographic Trends Conclusion

The online VPS collected demographic information on survey respondents including their residency, their housing tenure, their primary transportation use, their annual household income, and their age. Collectively, findings from the online VPS demonstrate that the majority of online VPS survey respondents live in Chicopee, own their homes, and drive as their primary mode of transportation. In addition, the online VPS demonstrated that the greatest share of online VPS survey respondents were between 55 and 74 years old and reported an annual household income of between \$50,000 and \$74,999.

Housing Preferences

In the housing preferences section of the online VPS, the online VPS displayed three images. Each image corresponded to one housing type, either a mixed-use, single family residential, or a multi-family residential home. The first image displayed reflected the lowest-density home, while the last image displayed reflected the highest-density home. Figure 8.30 displays the images shown in the online VPS, with labels accounting for each image's housing type and housing density. This section will examine online VPS survey respondents' most preferred housing type, starting with their most preferred mixed-use home, followed by survey respondents' most preferred single family residential home and multi-family residential home.

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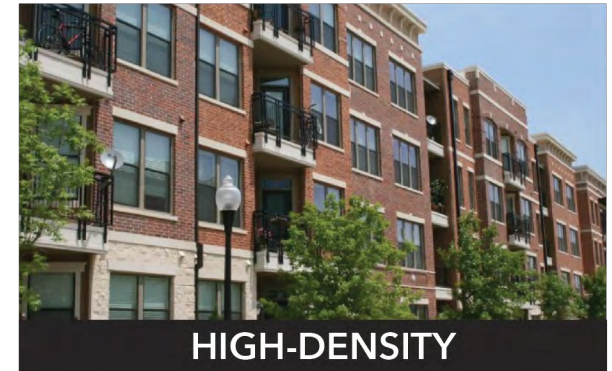
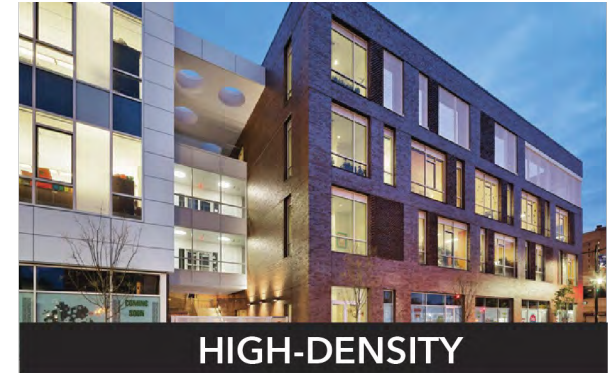
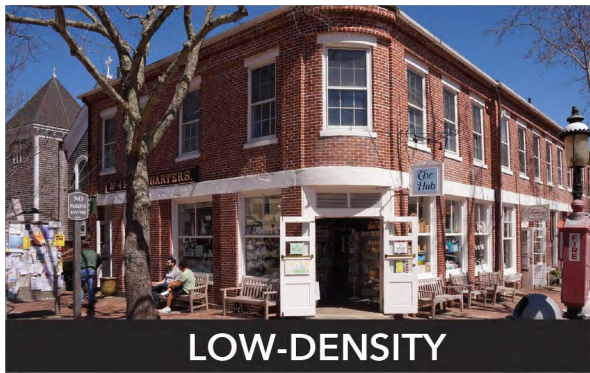


Figure 8.32: Images displayed in online VPS with labels showing housing type and housing density (labels were not present in the disseminated version of the VPS)

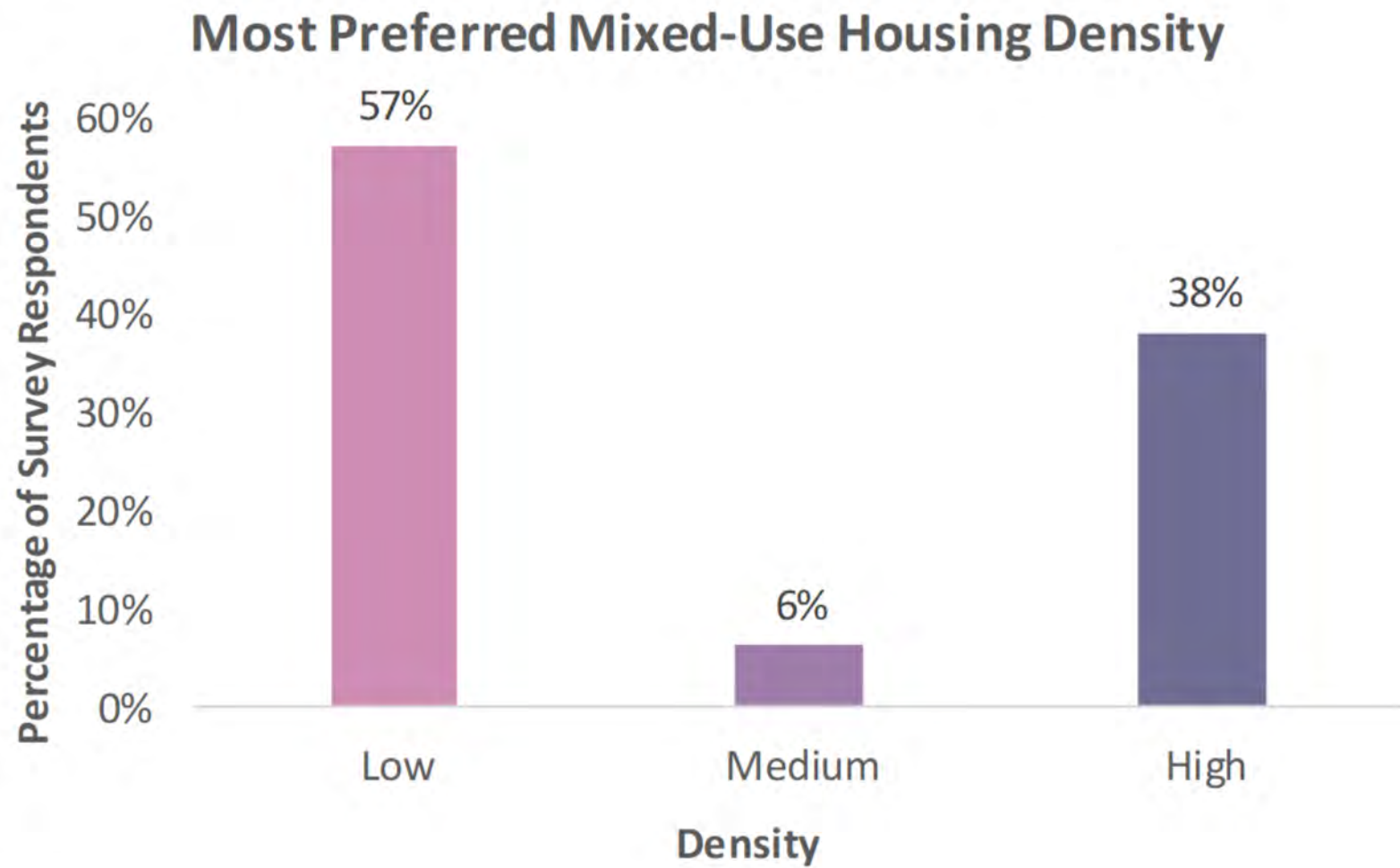


Figure 8.33: Percentage of online VPS survey respondents' most preferred mixed-use housing type by density

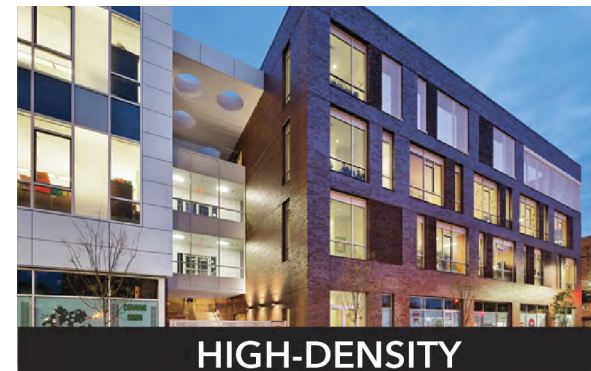


Figure 8.34: Mixed-use housing types included in the online VPS

Mixed-Use

In the mixed-use category, online VPS survey respondents most preferred the low-density mixed-use development shown in Figure 8.31. Figure 8.32 shows the degree to which online VPS survey respondents most preferred the low-density mixed-use home. As Figure 8.32 shows, 57% (or 37/65) of online VPS survey respondents ranked the low-density home as their most preferred choice, 38% (or 25/66) ranked the high-density home as their most preferred choice, and 6% (or 4/65) ranked the medium-density home as their most preferred choice. The trends presented in Figure 8.32 demonstrate that a slight majority of online VPS survey respondents most preferred the low-density mixed-use development.

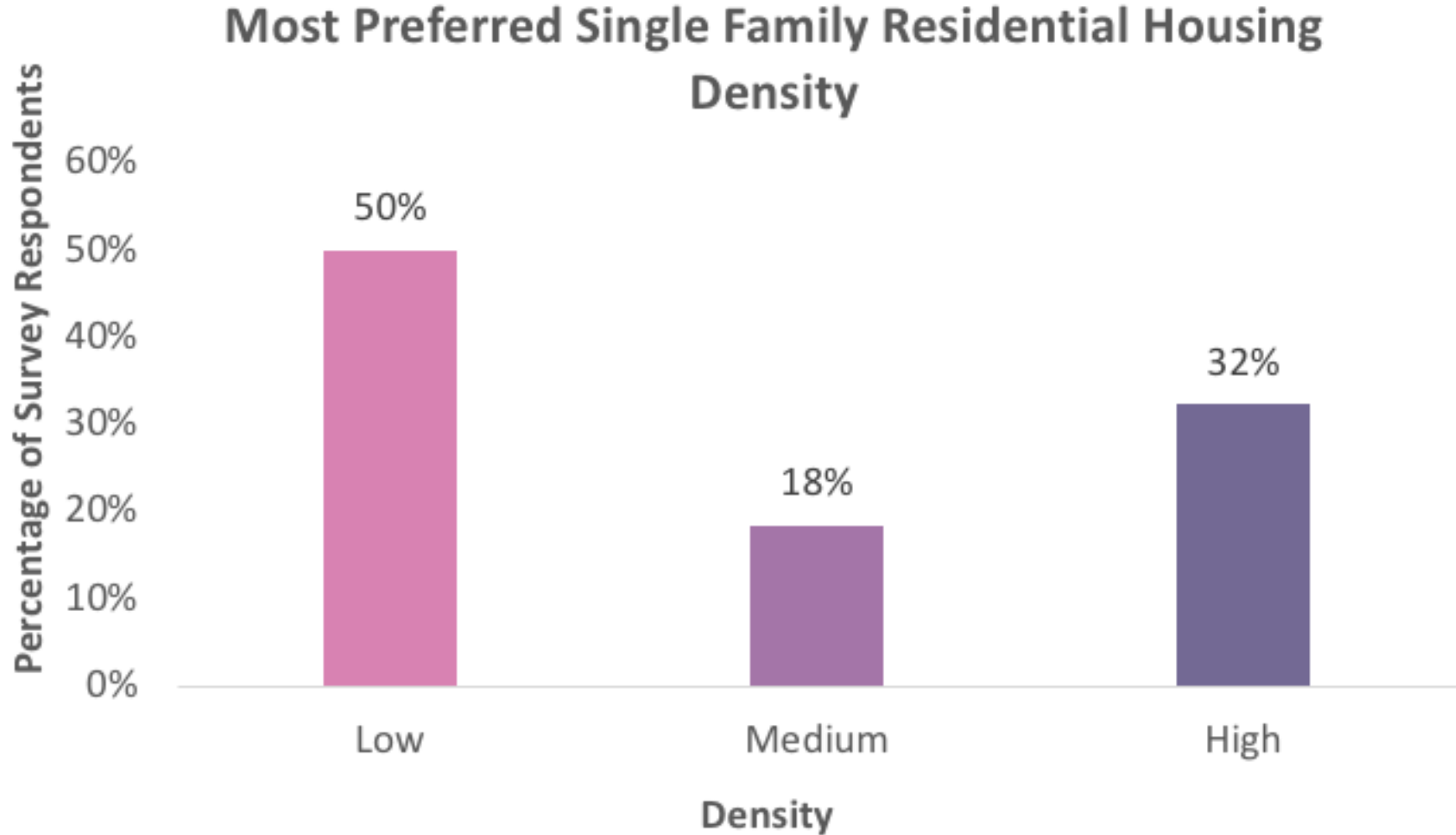


Figure 8.35: Percentage of online VPS survey respondents' most preferred single family residential housing type by density



Figure 8.36: Single family residential housing types on the visual preference survey

Single Family Residential

In the single family residential category, online VPS survey respondents most preferred the low-density single family residential home (Figure 8.33). Figure 8.34 shows the degree to which online VPS survey respondents most preferred the low-density single family residential home. As Figure 8.34 shows, 50% (or 33/66) of online VPS survey respondents ranked the low-density home as their most preferred choice, 32% (or 21/65) ranked the high-density home as their most preferred choice, and 18% (or 12/65) ranked the medium-density home as their most preferred choice.

preferred the low-density single family residential home. This trend tends to reflect typical preferences for a low-density single family residential home on its own plot of land.

The trends presented in Figure 8.34 demonstrate that the majority of Spooktacular survey respondents most

Most Preferred Multi-family Residential Housing Density

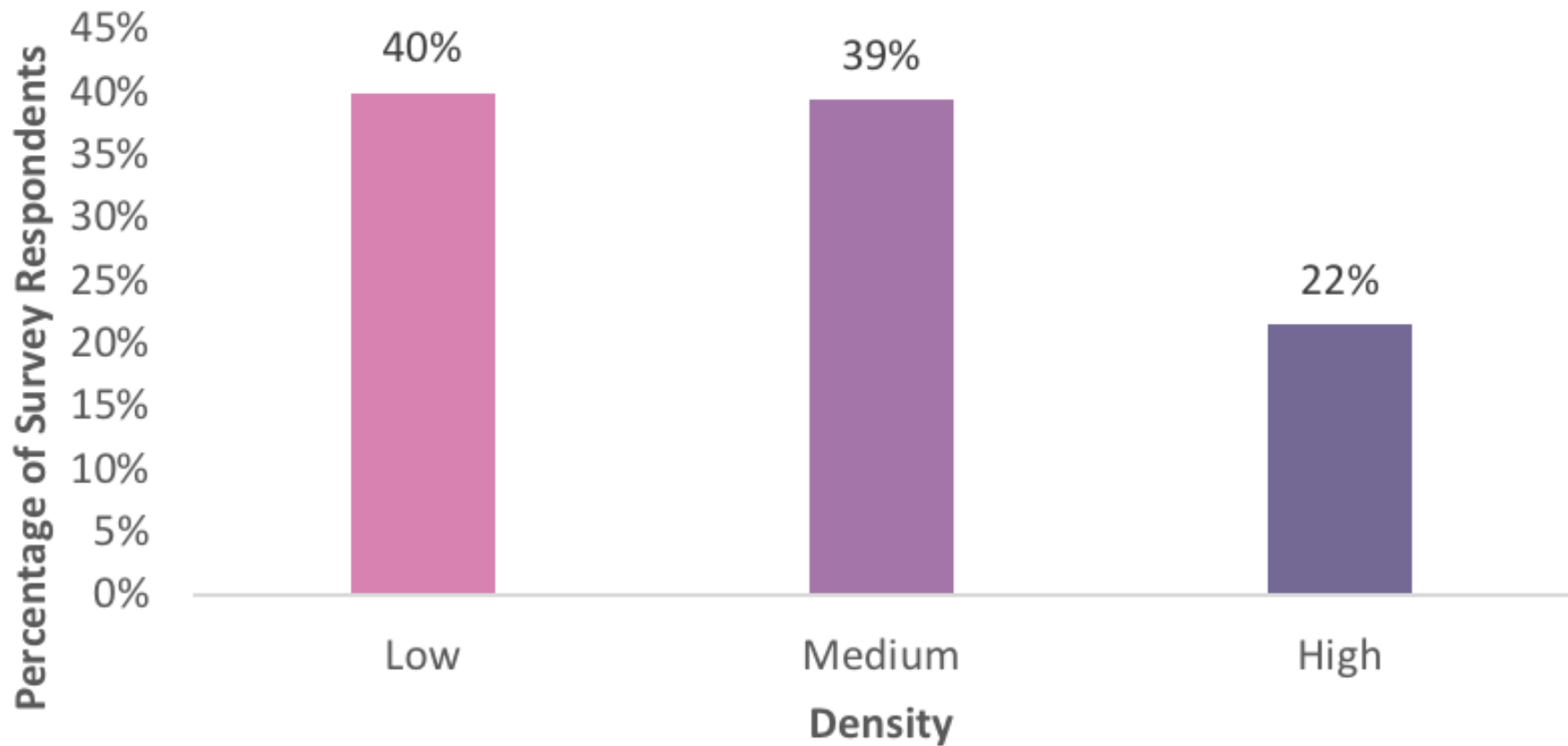


Figure 8.37: Percentage of online VPS survey respondents' most preferred multi-family housing type by housing density

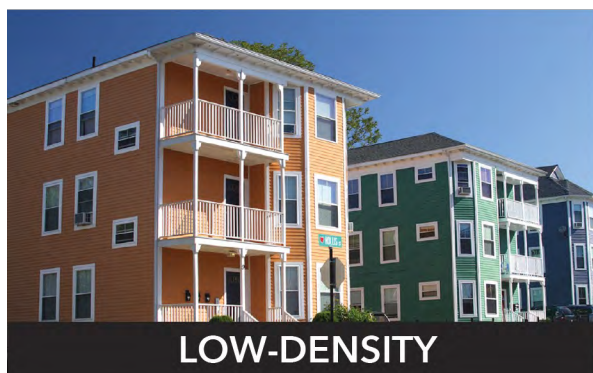


Figure 8.38: Multi-family housing types on the visual preference survey

Multi-family Residential

In the multi-family residential category, online VPS survey respondents most preferred the low-density multi-family residential home (Figure 8.35).

Figure 8.36 shows the degree to which online VPS survey respondents most preferred the low-density multi-family residential home. As Figure 8.36 shows, 40% (or 26/65) of online VPS survey respondents ranked the low-density home as their most preferred choice. Nearly the same proportion of online VPS survey respondents, or 39% (or 26/66), ranked the medium-density home as their most preferred choice. Finally, 22% (or 14/65) of online VPS survey respondents ranked the high-density home as their most preferred choice.

The trends presented in Figure 8.37 demonstrate that there was not a clear consensus among online VPS survey

respondents regarding their most preferred multi-family residential housing type and density. Online VPS survey respondents most preferred the low- and medium-density multi-family residential homes to a similar degree.

Residential Housing Preferences Conclusion

The online VPS assessed survey respondents' most preferred mixed-use, single family residential, and multi-family residential housing types according to different home densities. Table 8.37 summarizes online VPS survey respondents' most preferred housing type and the degree to which online VPS survey respondents most preferred this choice. As this analysis has shown, online VPS survey respondents most preferred the low-density mixed-use, single family residential, and multi-family residential homes. Taken together, this analysis shows that online VPS survey respondents unilaterally most preferred low-density homes regardless of the housing type under consideration.

The online VPS survey respondents' most preferred housing type in the mixed-use category reflects the style of the newly development mills in the West End neighborhood, which will be high-density mixed-use development. A small proportion of the existing housing stock in the West End neighborhood is low-density single family residential homes, or homes with one unit, reflecting a mismatch between the neighborhood's existing housing stock and the most preferred housing type of online VPS survey respondents.

Housing Type	Most Preferred	Percentage
Mixed-Use	Low-density	57% (or 37/65)
Single Family Residential	Low-density	50% (or 33/66)
Multi-Family Residential	Low-density	40% (or 26/65)

Table 8.1: Summary of online VPS respondents' most preferred housing type by density



Figure 8.39: Attendees engage in homemade carnival games at Spooktacular

Most Preferred Housing Type and Density by Age of Survey Respondent

Age	Mixed-Use	Single Family Residential	Multi-family Residential
18-24	H	L	M
		H	
25-39	H	L	M
		H	
40-54	L	L	L
55-74	L	L	L
75+	L	H	M
	H		

■ L = Low-Density
 ■ M = Medium-Density
 ■ H = High-Density

Split cells colors indicate equal preference for a given density.

Figure 8.40: Online survey respondents' most preferred housing type by age. For example, individuals between 18 and 24 years old most prefer the high-density mixed-use home.

Most Preferred Housing Type by Age

CCP examined online VPS survey respondents' most preferred housing type by the age of the survey respondent. CCP conducted this analysis in order to understand the degree to which online VPS survey respondents' most preferred housing type varied by the age of the survey respondent. In addition, CCP conducted this analysis in order to better understand the housing preferences of young professionals (or individuals in the 18 to 39 year old age range) and older individuals (individuals in the 55 to 74 year old age range). CCP was interested in examining the most preferred housing types among these age groups in particular given that the Client has indicated that young professionals and older residents are two groups of people that are expected to move into the redeveloped mills in the West End neighborhood. Thus, better understanding these age groups' most preferred types of housing is critical to future planning efforts.

Figure 8.38 presents online survey respondents' most preferred housing type by the age of the survey respondent. For each age group in each row, the lightest-color blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a low-density home. The second lightest-color blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a medium-density home. The darkest blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a high-density home. Blocks that reflect two or more colors indicate instances where online VPS survey respondents

most preferred more than one housing density (e.g. the low- and medium-density home) to the same degree. For example, individuals between 18 and 24 years old most prefer the high-density mixed-use home.

Figure 8.38 illustrates the housing type preferences of online VPS survey respondents by their age group. Of the respondents that were aged 18-24, 100% (n=2) most preferred the high-density mixed-use home, 50% (n=2) most preferred the low-density or the high-density single family residential home, and 100% (n=2) most preferred the medium-density multi-family residential home. Of the respondents that were aged 25-39, 53% (n=19) most preferred the high-density mixed-use home, 42% (n=19) most preferred either the low- or high-density single family residential home, and 47% (n=19) most preferred the medium-density multi-family residential home.

Of the respondents that were aged 40-54, 50% (n=18) most preferred the low-density mixed-use home, 67% (n=18) most preferred the low-density single family residential home, and 50% (n=18) most preferred the low-density multi-family residential home.

Of the respondents that were older than 75 years old, 50% (n=2) most preferred the low-density and high-density mixed-use home in equal proportion, 100% (n=2) most preferred the high-density single family residential home, and 100% (n=2) most preferred the medium-density multi-family residential home.

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Figure 8.41: CCP offered face painting to entertain children at Spooktacular

Most Preferred Housing Type and Density by Annual Household Income of Survey Respondent

Household Income	Mixed-Use	Single Family Residential	Multi-family Residential
Under \$20,000	LOW	LOW	MEDIUM
	HIGH		HIGH
\$20,000-\$34,999	LOW	HIGH	LOW
			MEDIUM
			HIGH
\$35,000-\$49,999	HIGH	LOW	MEDIUM
\$50,000-\$74,999	LOW	LOW	LOW
\$75,000-\$99,000	LOW	LOW	LOW
\$100,000+	LOW	HIGH	MEDIUM
Prefer not to answer	LOW	LOW	MEDIUM

■ Low-Density
 ■ Medium-Density
 ■ High-Density

*Split cells colors indicate equal preference for a given density.

Table 8.42: Online VPS survey respondents' most preferred housing type by annual household income of survey respondent

Most Preferred Housing Type by Household Income

CCP next examined online survey respondents' most preferred housing type and density by the annual household income of the survey respondent. CCP conducted this analysis in order to understand the degree to which online survey respondents' most preferred housing type and density varied by the household income of the survey respondent.

Figure 8.39 presents online survey respondents' most preferred housing type by the annual household income of the survey respondent. For each income bracket, the lightest -color blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a low-density home. The second lightest-color blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a medium-density home. The darkest blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a high-density home. Blocks that reflect two or more colors indicate instances where online survey respondents most preferred more than one housing density (e.g. the low- and medium-density home) to the same degree.

In the mixed-use category, the majority of income brackets most preferred the low-density mixed-use home, suggesting that there was some degree of consensus in this category.

In the single family residential category, the majority

of income brackets most preferred the single family residential home. The one exception was in the \$20,000 to \$34,999 and 100,000+ income brackets, which most preferred the high-density single family residential home.

In the multifamily category, there was considerable variation in housing density preferences. In general, survey respondents with lower annual household incomes most preferred medium- to high-density multi-family homes, while individuals with incomes between \$50,000 and \$99,000 most preferred the low-density multi-family residential home.

Most Preferred Housing Type and Density by Housing Tenure of Survey Respondent

Housing Tenure	Mixed-Use	Single Family Residential	Multi-family Residential
Rent	HIGH	HIGH	MEDIUM
Own	LOW	LOW	LOW
Other	MEDIUM	LOW	MEDIUM
	HIGH	HIGH	

■ Low-Density
 ■ Medium-Density
 ■ High-Density

Split cells colors indicate equal preference for a given density.

Figure 8.43: Online VPS survey respondents' most preferred housing type by housing tenure of survey respondent

Most Preferred Housing Type by Tenure

CCP next examined online survey respondents' most preferred housing type by the housing tenure of the survey respondent. CCP conducted this analysis in order to understand the degree to which online survey respondents' most preferred housing type varied according to whether the survey respondent rented, owned, or lived in another living arrangement.

Figure 8.40 presents online survey respondents' most preferred housing type by the housing tenure of the survey respondent. In each row, the lightest-color blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a low-density home. The second lightest-color blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a medium-density home. The darkest blue block indicates that individuals most preferred a high-density home.

Figure 8.40 illustrates the housing type preferences of online survey respondents according to whether they rented or owned their home or lived in another living arrangement, such as living at home with their parents.

As Figure 8.40. shows, renters tended to most prefer medium- to high-density homes, a preference may reflect the type of housing stock that renters are accustomed to living in. Homeowners, on the other hand, most preferred the low-density single family residential home--a trend that again might reflect the type of housing stock that homeowners are accustomed to living in. Among online

survey respondents that indicated that they lived in "another living arrangement," survey respondents indicated tended to most prefer medium- to high-density homes.

Online VPS Respondent Residential Housing Preferences by Demographic Characteristics Conclusion

This section examined variation in Spooktacular survey respondents' most preferred housing preferences according to various demographic characteristics associated with the survey respondent including their age, annual household income, and housing tenure. Overall, trends in this section demonstrated that housing density preferences in the multi-family residential category in particular varied according to the age, household income, and housing tenure of online survey respondents.

Variation in housing density preferences were most pronounced when examining how housing density preferences varied according to the housing tenure of online survey respondents. As this analysis has shown, renters tended to most prefer medium- to high-density homes, while homeowners most preferred low-density homes. This difference in housing preference indicates that the housing needs and desires of renters might depart considerably from homeowners. Thus, the Client should consider these housing preferences when making decision surrounding how to develop or renovate the existing housing stock in the West End.



Figure 8.44: Children accept candy from the CCP booth at Spooktacular

I would like to live within walking distance of restaurants, bars, and/or coffee shops.

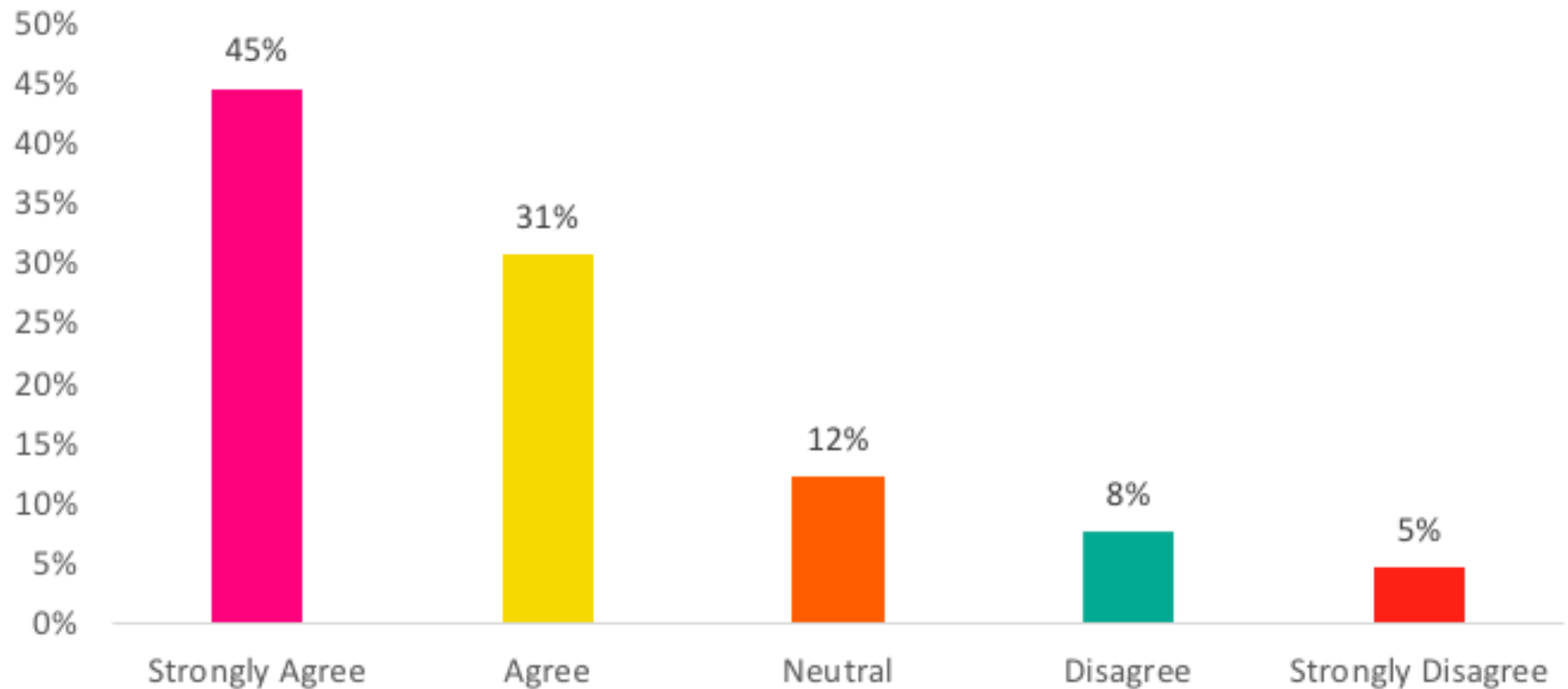


Figure 8.45: Online survey respondent s' preferences for living near restaurants, bars, and coffee shops, N = 65

Neighborhood Characteristics

Restaurants, Bars, and Coffee Shops

The majority of online survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of restaurants, bars, and/or coffee shops. Specifically, 76% (or 49/65) of online survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of these amenities. Another 12% (or 8/65) reported that they felt neutral about living within walking distance of these restaurants, bars, and/or coffee shops, and 13% (or 8/65) of online survey respondents disagreed.

Taken together, these findings suggest that the vast majority of online survey respondents would like to live within walking distance of restaurants, bars, or coffee shops. This finding suggests that mixed-use zoning, which prioritizes walkability to amenities such as restaurants, bars, or coffee shops, might resonate well with the online survey respondent group.

I would like to live within walking distance of places where I can buy fresh food.

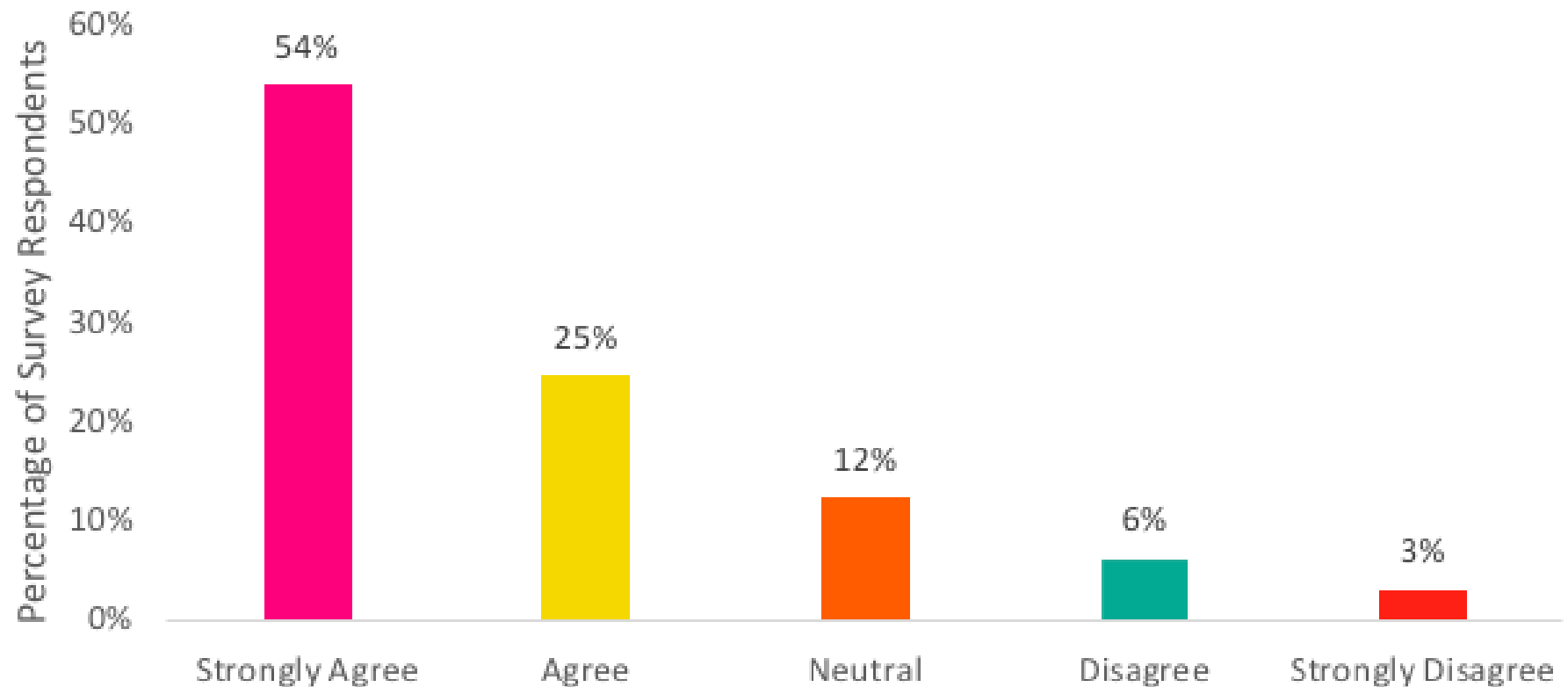


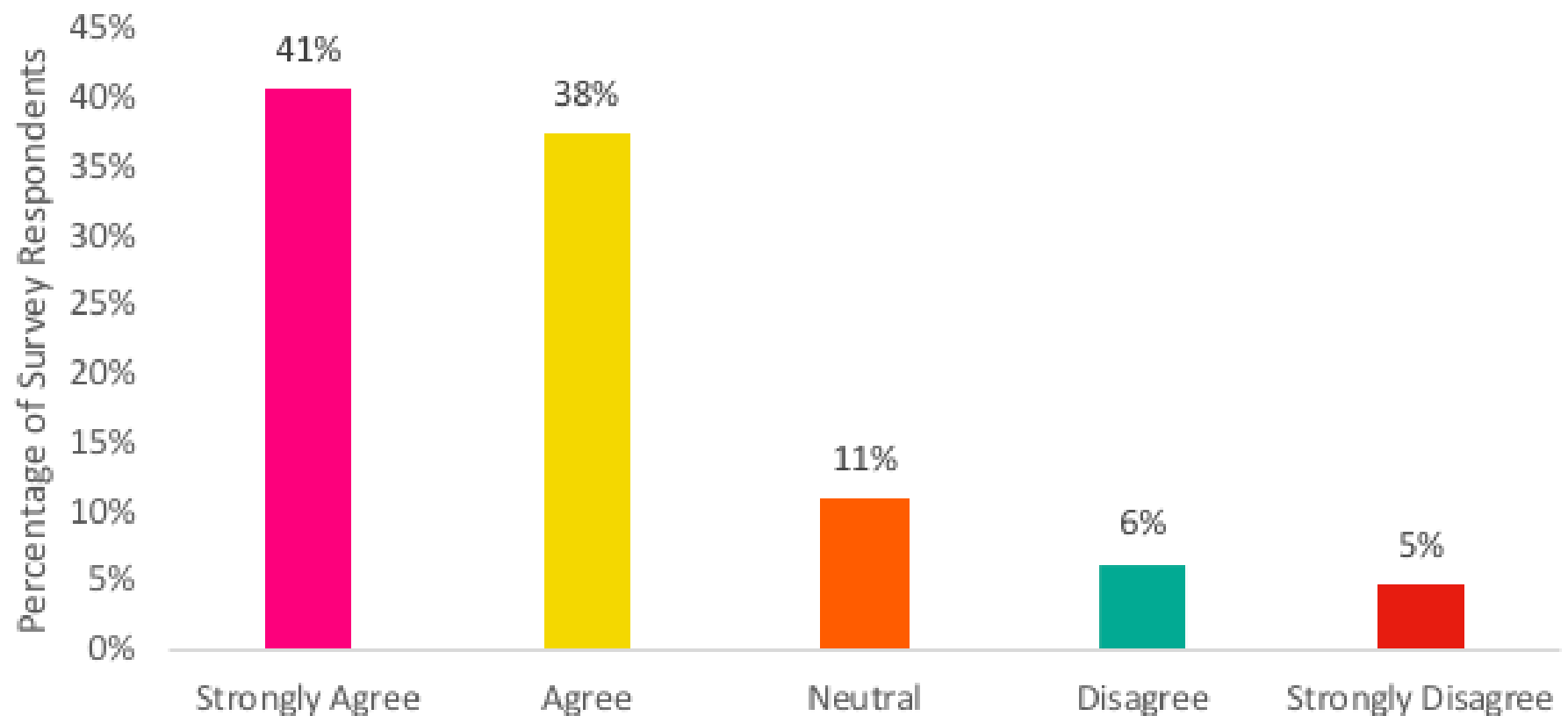
Figure 8.46: Online survey respondents' preferences for living near places to buy fresh food, N = 65

Fresh Food

The majority of online survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of places where they could buy fresh food. Specifically, 78% (or 51/65) of online survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of places to buy fresh food. Another 12% (or 8/65) reported that they felt neutral about living within walking distance of places to buy fresh food, and 9% (or 6/65) of online survey respondents disagreed. Collectively, these trends suggest that online survey respondents would like to live in an area that is close to places to buy fresh food.

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I would like to live within walking distance of public parks, libraries, recreation centers, and/or social clubs.



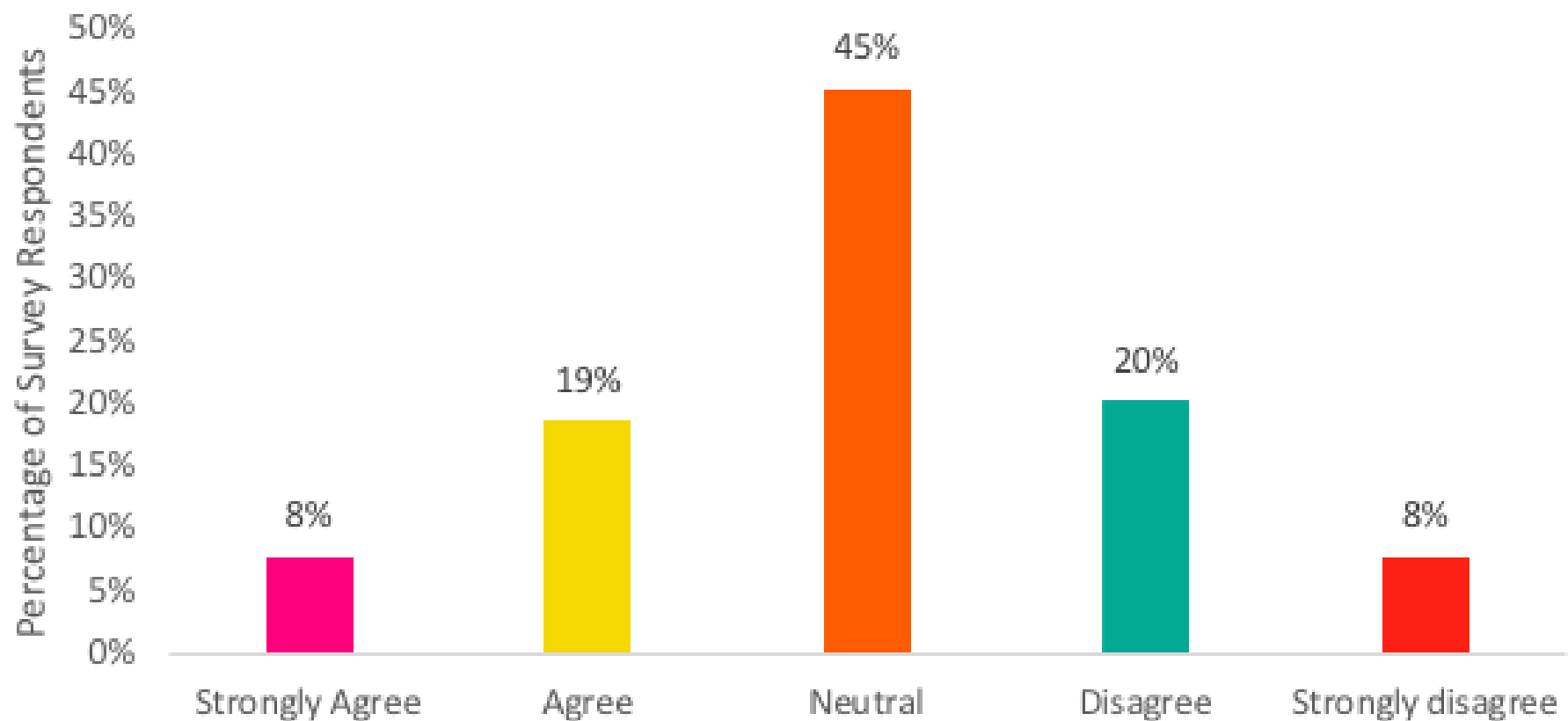
*Figure 8.47: Online survey respondents' preferences for living near public resources,
N = 64*

Public Resources

The majority of online survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of public parks, libraries, recreation centers, and/or social clubs. Specifically, 78% (or 50/64) of online survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of these amenities. Another 11% (or 7/64) reported that they felt neutral about living within walking distance of these public places, and 11% (or 7/64) disagreed.

While the majority of online survey respondents reported that they would like to live close to public spaces such as public libraries, there was also a considerable portion of online survey respondents that disagreed. Online survey respondents' greater ambivalence to living within walking distance of public spaces such as public libraries compared to the Spooktacular survey respondents might suggest that the online survey respondent group takes less advantage of such resources.

I would like to live within walking distance of medical services.



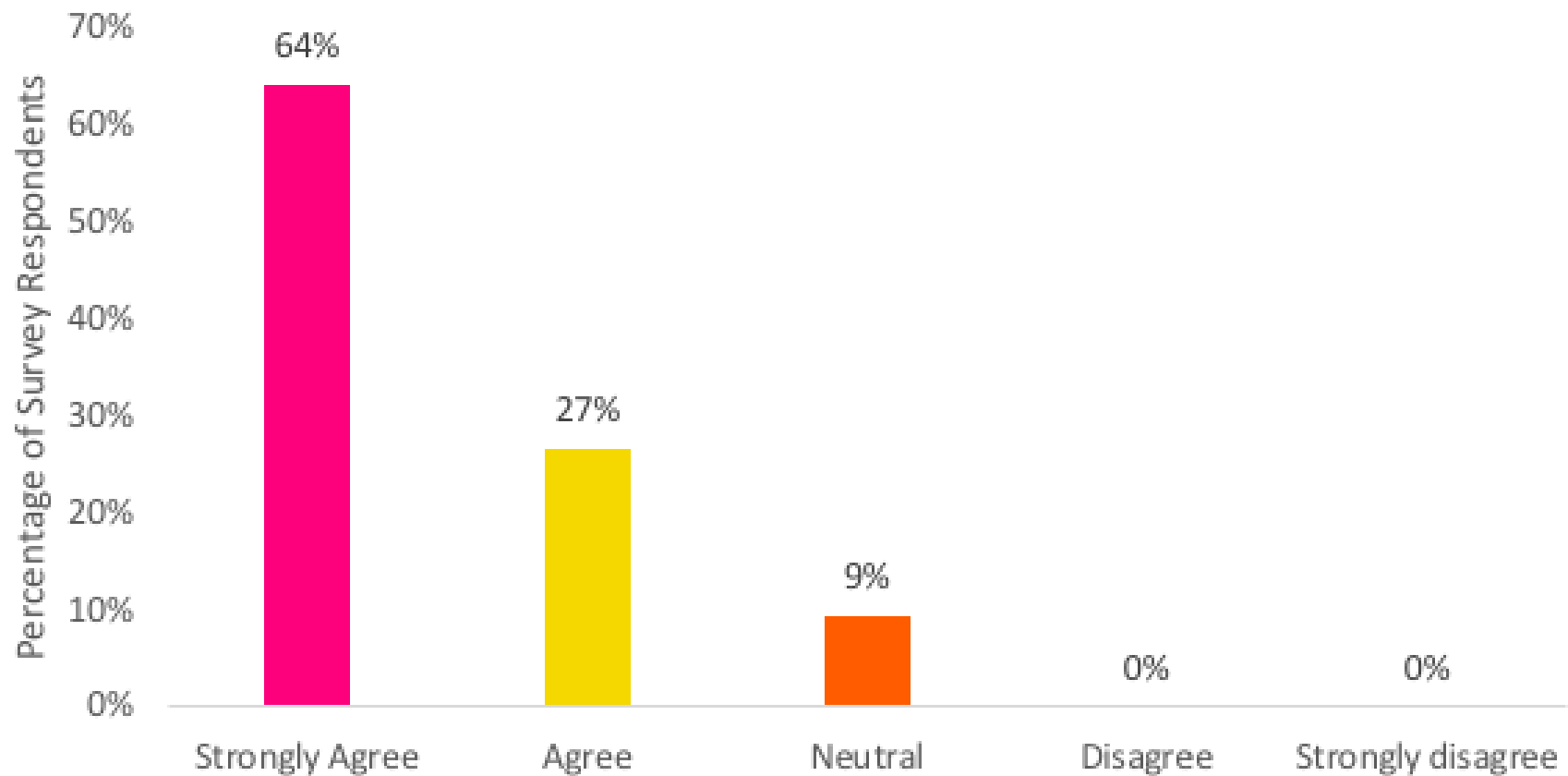
*Figure 8.48: Online survey respondents' preferences for living near medical services,
N = 64*

Medical Services

The minority of online survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of medical services. Specifically, 27% (or 17/64) of online survey respondents agreed that they would like to live within walking distance of these amenities. Another 45% (or 29/64) reported that they felt neutral about living within walking distance of medical services, and 28% (or 18/64) of respondents disagreed. Taken together, these findings suggest that online survey respondents did not consider living within walking distance of medical services to be of chief importance, given that a high proportion of people indicated that they felt neutrally or overall disagreed that they would like to live near medical services.

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I would like to have a job commute that is under 30 minutes.



*Figure 8.49: Online survey respondents' preferences for living within 30 minutes of their job,
N = 64*

Job Commute

The majority of online survey respondents agreed that they would like to have a job commute under 30 minutes long. Specifically, 91% (or 58/64) of Spooktacular survey respondents agreed that they would like to have a job commute under 30 minutes long. Another 9% (or 6/64) reported that they felt neutral about having a job commute under 30 minutes long, and no survey respondents disagreed. Taken together, these findings suggest that living close to a job is of critical important to online survey respondents.

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One-on-one Interview Findings

This section outlines findings and analysis from CCP's one-on-one interviews. For these interviews, CCP spoke with individuals who live, work, or spend time in the West End in order to better understand the neighborhood's assets, challenges, and opportunities. CCP conducted nine interviews in total, and spoke with local residents, business owners, and organizational leaders. Appendix A.3 lists the organizations that CCP spoke with, and Appendix A.4 lists the organizations that CCP reached out to for an interview.

The one-on-one interviews were structured around a SWOT analysis framework, asking interviewees to assess the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats currently facing the neighborhood through a series of questions.

These questions included:

1. What do you like about Chicopee Center?
(*strength*)
2. What do you dislike about Chicopee Center?
(*weakness/threat*)
3. How could Chicopee Center be improved?
(*opportunity*)

Methodology

CCP used NVIVO software to analyze notes from these conversations, using the following preliminary categories, or nodes, to code notes from the one-on-one interviews.

Code Name	Code Description
Asset	Existing positive features
Challenge	Existing negative features or undesirable features (inexistent)
Culture	Identity, speaker descriptions of self or appearance, history, heritage, values, traditions, diversity, ethnicity, community culture
University	"The college students", higher education
School	School system, high school, teachers, superintendent
Housing	Residential properties, housing costs, home buyers
Commerce	Stores, local businesses, business development, tourism
Transportation	Bus, traffic, parking, bike paths
Services	Social agencies, medical, city services, shelters
Environment	Landscape, weather, scenic views, specific places within the downtown
Relationship	Friends, family attachment (i.e. my son lives here), conflict, disagreement, discussion
Justice	Oppression/inequality, opportunity, economic conditions, jobs, affordability, expensive, accountability, "problems not addressed", class privilege
Network	Committee, service or volunteering, clubs, meetings, social capital
Vibrancy	Music, arts, concerts, facilities like museums
Governance	City government, city meeting, representation in public decisions, issues of tax base
Economy	Employment, jobs, revenue

Table 8.2: Table of coding themes

After the first round of coding the notes in NVIVO, many of the categories were not utilized at all, such as “school” and “environment.” Interviewees did not discuss topics related to these subjects. However, other nodes were heavily utilized, such as “transportation,” “services,” “commerce” and “housing.” Content in some of the nodes, such as “network” and “culture,” overlapped considerably. Therefore, CCP created themes that better suited the information gathered from one-on-one interviews, based on the relationships between nodes from the coding process.

One-on-One Interview Themes

Based on CCP’s conversations with local residents, business owners, and organizational leaders, CCP developed six major themes: community and culture, economy, housing, transportation, public services, and mill redevelopment projects.

The first theme, community and culture, encompasses any topic related to the social fabric and demographics of the neighborhood. This theme encompasses information included in the “culture,” “vibrancy,” “networks,” and “relationship” nodes. The second theme, economy, refers to the business mix, commercial

activity, and economic development activity in the West End. Economy refers to data from both the “economy” and “commerce” nodes. The third theme, housing, relates to the West End’s housing quality, affordability, structures, and ownership, and stems from the “housing” and “justice” nodes. The fourth theme, transportation, discusses the West End’s existing street network, traffic patterns, parking, and walkability, and comes directly from the “transportation” node. The fifth theme, public services, discusses the quality and availability of public services in the West End, such as city-sponsored events, police, and services for homeless individuals. The public service theme is derived from data in “governance,” “service,” and “justice” nodes. Last, CCP’s sixth theme, mill redevelopment projects, discusses interviewee perspectives concerning the Lyman and Cabot Ville redevelopment projects and was created using data from “housing” and “economy” nodes. The following section discusses each of these major themes in greater detail. Key terms are in **bold** and represent ideas that were mentioned frequently by interviewees throughout the interview process.

Community and Culture

When asked about the assets present in the West End, most of the interview respondents reflected on the West End’s **tight-knit community** dynamic. Respondents described how they know many people who grew up in the West End and have lived there for their entire lives. There are many multigenerational residents who are deeply invested in

the West End.

Interview respondents also reflected on how there are many **families with children** who live in the West End, as well as a sizeable **elderly** population. According to interviewees, a number of **young professionals** that have moved to the West End have been eager to engage and participate with the existing community. Interviewees also expressed that one of the neighborhood's major assets is its **cultural diversity**, with significant Hispanic, Portuguese, French Canadian, Polish, and Irish populations. Respondents reflected positively about all of these major demographic groups throughout the interview process.

Many of the interview respondents reflected on the positive impact that **City-sponsored events**, such as Spooktacular, the Downtown Getdown, and the Tree Lighting Ceremony, have had in forging a sense of community in the West End. The Spooktacular event is discussed in detail in Chapter 7. The Downtown Getdown is an annual block party located in Chicopee Center with live music, food, and other vendors. The Tree Lighting Ceremony is a Christmas event that takes place in the West End and features a variety of entertainment for children and parents. According to the interviewees, children-focused events infuse the events with positive energy, giving them a palpable "buzz."

However, aside from these annual City-sponsored events, interviewees described how there are **few venues for people to spend time downtown**. Interviewees cited

Goodworks Coffee House (Table 8.??), a coffee house that opened in 2017 in Chicopee Center, as a place that has successfully drawn people from different corners of the downtown as well as students from Elms College. Apart from this asset, interviewees remarked that the West End is missing cultural amenities that will draw a crowd, even though many people think that the West End is "cute."

Related to the lack of cultural amenities, several interviewees discussed the West End's **lack of distinct identity**. In connection to the redevelopment of the Lyman and Cabotville Mills, interview respondents expressed concern that an unclear vision of what residents want to see in the West End's future may make the neighborhood more vulnerable to gentrification. Interviewees were hopeful that the upcoming Chicopee Master Plan would help define a shared vision for the future of the West End and outline a clear identity associated with the neighborhood.

Economy

Interviewees also discussed commercial assets and challenges in the West End. Several respondents spoke positively about the **Chicopee Chamber of Commerce**. According to interviewees, the Chicopee Chamber of Commerce staff have made business owners feel that they are “part of a family” and actively support businesses downtown by purchasing goods and services from local businesses, as well as promoting businesses on their social media pages.

In terms of the current business mix, many interviewees mentioned that it is difficult for “**mom and pop**” **shops** to remain open in the West End, citing Northampton as an example of a city that has been able to do so successfully.

In addition, several interviewees remarked that there are **very few places to purchase food** downtown and that residents must drive out of the downtown to purchase groceries or go to a restaurant. Respondents also mentioned how there are many vegetarian and vegan people living in the area, so there might be potential demand for opening a business that sells **healthy food**.

In terms of ways to improve the existing business mix, interview respondents expressed that they would like to see a **gym** in downtown Chicopee, especially one that is student-oriented. Interviewees mentioned that they

would like to see the old **theater** remodeled into a working cinema. Some interviewees also mentioned that they would like to see a **work space** for the new residents moving into the renovated mills. The interview respondents also mentioned their desire for **improved connections** with landlords and other business owners so that the existing business community can influence the types of businesses that the City seeks to attract. Interviewees also expressed a desire for the City to be **more selective** on what kind of businesses move in. Additionally, according to interviewees, difficult-to-reach property owners make it difficult for interested **investors** to purchase and redevelop commercial properties in the downtown.

Housing

Interviewees also reflected on current housing conditions in the West End. In terms of housing-related assets, interviewees expressed that the housing stock in the West End is valuable largely due to its **affordability**. According to interviewees, the West End is among the least expensive areas to live in not only Chicopee, but the greater Pioneer Valley. Interviewees mentioned that they wanted the West End to remain a place where diverse households from a **wide range of income levels** can comfortably live.

Interview respondents also discussed how the existing

housing stock in the West End is **unique** because the majority of structures are **mid-sized multi-family structures** containing five to nine units. According to interviewees, this kind of housing stock is valuable because five- to nine-unit structures are rarely constructed anymore, since developments with more than two units require costly fire suppression systems. Therefore, interviewees reflected that **smaller multi-family homes** are an asset in the West End. There is also a mix of duplexes and single-family homes in the West End. Interview respondents felt that this overall **mix of housing types** is a major asset in the West End. To diversify this housing mix even further, interviewees mentioned that they would like to see additional housing created for **students** from nearby Elms College. One housing challenge that interviewees mentioned is the perception that cities like Chicopee, Holyoke, and Springfield are **weaker markets**, making it more difficult to obtain capital for development. Additionally, interviewees mentioned that **absentee landlords** make it difficult to renovate or improve the existing housing stock since they can be difficult to communicate with.

Transportation

In terms of transportation-related issues, interview respondents mentioned that people living in the West End can easily hop on a **bus to Springfield** to commute to their job. Interviewees mentioned that there is the potential to create a vibrant, **walkable** neighborhood since the West End is quite compact. Interviewees also cited the benefit of **free parking** throughout the West End and hoped that parking remains free. Interviewees were happy to see that many of the **streets are being repaved** in the West End.

In terms of challenges, interviewees reflected on several transportation-related challenges. Interviewees mentioned that the **one-way street network** is a major challenge because it makes businesses in downtown difficult to access by car. Interviewees also mentioned the need for **sidewalk repairs**. Last, interview respondents described how there is excess parking in the downtown, yet there is a perception that there is **not enough parking** because most of the parking is privately owned.

Public Services

Stakeholders spoke positively about **City-sponsored events**, such as the Tree Lighting Ceremony, Spooktacular, and Downtown Getdown, which all bring people into Chicopee Center. These events make stakeholders feel like “[the City] is trying to utilize the downtown better, which is great.”

However, interviewees also mentioned that there is an overall **disconnect** between City Hall and the the West End. Respondents expressed that they felt that the City is not actively engaged in the **day-to-day** in the downtown and that there needs to be more of a **collaborative** effort to create positive change.

Interview respondents also mentioned the positive effect of having a greater **police presence** in the downtown. Some felt that the current level of police presence is ideal, and others felt that the City should have an additional officer stationed downtown on foot to deter people from “getting into trouble,” especially at night. Some business owners mentioned that they have had issues with overnight illegal dumping.

Finally, interviewees also discussed how the **homeless population** in the downtown lacks **essential services** and that this population needs to be helped, not displaced.

Mill Redevelopment Projects

Interviewees were overall **excited** about the Lyman and Cabotville redevelopment projects. Interviewees noted that the mills will have **easy access** to the neighboring cities of Holyoke and Springfield and that new mill residents could potentially commute to Springfield easily for work. In addition, many of the interview respondents felt that an influx of residents to the mills would positively impact **economic development** in the neighborhood, allowing new businesses to open due to an expanded customer base an easy **walk** from businesses downtown. Interviewees mentioned that new mill residents will likely have disposable income, since incoming tenants will be living in market-rate apartments.

However, a few interviewees expressed concern that the mill redevelopment projects are a “double-edged sword.”

Though the new residents may become actively engaged in the community (as previous new residents have been), there is a fear that **gentrification** could occur and bring in large chains like Starbucks and threaten existing businesses. Interviewees mentioned that the City “needs to be careful about how to develop” because there is only so much control over “who we want to be.”

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Summary Of Assets and Challenges

Assets	Challenges
<p>Tight-knit community</p> <p>Multigenerational residents</p> <p>Cultural diversity</p> <p>Many families and children</p> <p>Family-oriented events (e.g. Downtown Getdown and Halloween Spooktacular)</p> <p>Chamber of Commerce</p> <p>Housing options that are affordable for many income levels</p> <p>Lots of potential</p> <p>Beautiful historic structures</p> <p>Free parking</p> <p>Strong interest in investment</p>	<p>Lack of unique identity</p> <p>Need for programs for kids and teenagers</p> <p>Few options for purchasing food (especially healthy food) downtown</p> <p>Not enough amenities to draw foot traffic</p> <p>Some landlords are unwilling to work with local organizations, or sell their properties</p> <p>One-way street network</p> <p>Not enough parking open to visitors</p> <p>Unsafe at night</p> <p>Lack of resources for homeless individuals</p>

Table 8.3: Summary of assets and challenges

Conclusion

CCP's public engagement campaign centered around capturing visions for future housing and economic development in Chicopee's West End neighborhood. The goal of the public engagement strategy was to understand current housing needs in the neighborhood, as well as broader market demands in the region. CCP captured visions for the neighborhood's future by gathering input from current Chicopee residents, as well as other individuals who were deeply invested in the neighborhood's future, such as public officials or leaders at neighborhood non-profits. As this chapter has discussed, CCP developed a public engagement campaign theme and leveraged three public engagement tools—a VPS administered in-person, one-on-one stakeholder interviews, and an online VPS—to gather this input.

CCP's public engagement campaign highlighted the variation in housing needs and preferences in the West End. In general, the survey results showed that young survey respondents who rent their homes and have relatively low household incomes most prefer higher-density homes. In comparison, older survey respondents who are homeowners and have relatively high household incomes tend to prefer low-density homes. Across the board, survey respondents agreed that they would like to live near places to buy fresh food, restaurants, bars, coffee shops, jobs, and public places such as public libraries. CCP also found that residents did not think

that it was of chief importance to live near medical services.

CCP's public engagement strategy also illuminated existing assets and challenges in Chicopee Center. Public engagement participants identified that the neighborhood's multigenerational residents, cultural diversity, historic structures, and housing affordability are among some of the neighborhood's greatest assets. In terms of challenges, public engagement participants indicated that the neighborhood lacks a unique identity, does not support basic service needs (e.g. grocery stores to buy fresh food, human services for homeless individuals, programs for kids and teenagers), and has difficulty managing traffic flow and parking.

These findings from the public engagement campaign provided the CCP team unique insight into some of the housing and neighborhood needs of current residents and stakeholders as well as what were some of the challenges and opportunities facing the West End neighborhood. These visions provide the framework for the broad neighborhood recommendations discussed in the next chapter.



Chapter 9: Financing Development

Introduction

When developers or planners are interested in starting a development project, they need to be able to understand the finances necessary to make a new project possible. One tool that developers and planners often use to assess the financial feasibility of a project is called a pro forma. A pro forma is a financial model that provides detailed analysis of a single income-producing property.

A pro forma calculates the expected outputs of a given property including their cash flow projections by year, their operating income, their net income, and their internal rate of return (IRR), which includes rental and ownership projects that generate yearly income. A pro forma model also takes into account expenditures that will detract from the total profit of an income-producing property such as construction costs. A pro forma analysis can therefore help a developer understand how profitable a new project will be.

CCP developed a pro forma in order to examine the financial viability of constructing a 4-unit multifamily development (with 3 bedrooms in each unit) on a lot located at 0 West Street in Chicopee's West End neighborhood. In order to develop the pro forma, CCP conducted interviews with local developers to understand average costs associated with new development that could be inputted into the pro forma.

The main finding from CCP's pro forma analysis is that the developer of a 4-unit multifamily building in Chicopee Center (with three bedrooms per unit) would need to charge at least \$1,800 in rent in order for the development to be financially profitable for the developer. The following section reviews the specific inputs to the pro forma model.

Pro Forma

The lot size for 0 West Street is about .49 acres, or 21,540 square feet. After conducting some preliminary research on construction costs in the area and speaking directly to a local developer, CCP estimated that average construction cost per square foot would be \$150. The local developer that CCP spoke with suggested that \$200 per square foot is typical for the region, and online resources generally place average construction costs per square foot around \$125 in the area. CCP inputted \$150 as the average construction cost per square foot into the pro forma in order to find a reasonable mid-point between the two estimates. The average construction cost per square foot considers the price of all of the different contractors that are involved to build the space and the total cost of materials.

When calculating the construction costs for 0 West Street, CCP calculated that a 4-unit duplex would cost \$600,000. CCP arrived at this amount by multiplying the average size of a 3-bedroom unit in the West End neighborhood by the total number of units in the building (4 units) and by the average construction cost per square foot (\$150 per square foot). CCP identified the average size of a 3-bedroom unit by looking at multiple apartments online with the same number of bedrooms and found that the average size of a bedroom was 1,000 square feet. Figures (9.0 - 9.2) show the various inputs

that CCP put into the pro forma.

The total assessed value of the lot at 0 West Street is \$71,700. If a developer or the city of Chicopee would like to purchase this property, the total amount would be \$705,687. This price includes adding legal fees and other personal costs relevant to the final sale of the property. If the party interested in purchasing the property needed to take out a loan to cover the initial costs of the property, the total amount of the loan and the interest rate associated with the loan would also need to be inputted into the pro forma. In order to consider this scenario, CCP split the total amount of the loan into two separate loans, one for \$600,000 and the other for \$50,000. To cover the rest of financing, CCP then included two separate investors to cover the remaining costs of the property acquisition, one for \$40,000 and the other for \$15,687. Based on conversations with a local developer, CCP estimated that a 5.5% interest rate would be appropriate for the \$600,000 and \$50,000 loan. Combining those amounts and taking into account the other expenses, the total amount comes to \$705,687.

The next step in developing the pro forma involved calculating what would be reasonable monthly rates for developers to charge in order to make a profit every month. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the median income of the West End neighborhood is \$26,518.

Assuming that households spend 30% of their monthly income on housing costs, CCP calculated that a reasonable rental rate would be \$662 per month $((\$26,518 * .3)/12)$. Charging this amount in rent would not be financially profitable for the developer because the total revenue gained from four rentals units is \$2,648. That amount would not even be enough to cover the monthly loan payment of \$4,471, not including the other monthly expenses that include vacancy fees, management, repairs, janitorial fees, heat, electricity, water, and property taxes. In the pro forma, CCP increased the monthly rents to \$1,800, including all the management fees and vacancy savings, which was the about the minimum amount a landlord or developer could charge and still have some net operating income at the end of each month.

With rents at \$1,800 a month, and subtracting all monthly expenses, CCP projects that a developer would bring in about \$240 a month in profits during the first year. Monthly expenses include management, repair, janitorial, heat, electricity, water, property tax, and insurance-related fees. These expenses may not necessarily occur every month, but developers and landlords are advised to put the money away for instances when these services are necessary. In the current model, developers would need to put away about \$2,200 a month to cover all maintenance-related fees. The landlord would also need to pay back the loan out the total net revenue every month, which would

be \$4,471 total.

If renters from the West End neighborhood were interested in living in this development, housing assistance, housing vouchers, or rent assistance might be necessary, given the area's median household income. Section 8 and state and regional housing authorities can help bridge the rental gap. Based on this pro forma, the subsidy would need to be \$1,215 a month, or \$14,580 a year, for each unit.

Source		659,687	Operations	Units	I/P	Finance		I/P
Equity		59,687	Unit 1 - One bedroom	Per Month	1,800	Tranche 1		
	Investor 1	40,000	Unit 2 - Two bedroom	Per Month	1,800	Principal		550,000
	Investor 2	19,687	Unit 3 - Three bedroom	Per Month	1,800	Term (Years)		20
Debt		600,000	Unit 4 - Four bedroom	Per Month	1,800	Interest Rate		5.50%
	Tranche 1	550,000				Structure		1
	Tranche 2	50,000	Vacancy1		5.00%	Origination Fee		1.00%
			Vacancy2		5.00%			
Uses		705,687	Vacancy3		5.00%	Tranche 2		
Purchase Price		71,700	Vacancy4		5.00%	Principal		50,000
Renovation		600,000				Term (Years)		20
Legal		3,500	Rental Escl	Annual	2.00%	Interest Rate		5.50%
	Bank	2,000				Structure		1
	Personal	1,500	Management	per Net Rev	5.00%	Origination Fee		1.00%
IDC		24,700	Repairs	per Net Rev	5.00%			
Tax Escrow		1,287	Janitor	Per Year	2,600	Valuation		I/P
Finance Cost		4,500	Heat	Per Year	2,130	Capitilization Rate	Cap_Rate	10.90%
			Electricity	Per Year	1,000	Sales Expense	Sales_Exp	6.00%
Surplus/Deficit		(46,000)	Water	Per Year	1,200	Discount Rate	Discount_Rat	10.00%
			Property Tax	Per Year	7,800			
DSCR Min	1.14		Insurance	Per Year	2,600	Sale Period	Sales_Term_y	10
Cash- on Cash Mi	11.48%							
IRR	25%		Expense Escl	Annual	2.00%			

Figure 9.0: Input sheet 1 used in pro forma

Valuation:											
	Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Revenue											
Rental		86,400	88,128	89,891	91,688	93,522	95,393	97,300	99,246	101,231	103,256
Vacancy		(4,320)	(4,406)	(4,495)	(4,584)	(4,676)	(4,770)	(4,865)	(4,962)	(5,062)	(5,163)
Total Revenue		82,080	83,722	85,396	87,104	88,846	90,623	92,435	94,284	96,170	98,093
Expenses											
Management		(4,104)	(4,186)	(4,270)	(4,355)	(4,442)	(4,531)	(4,622)	(4,714)	(4,808)	(4,905)
Repairs		(4,104)	(4,186)	(4,270)	(4,355)	(4,442)	(4,531)	(4,622)	(4,714)	(4,808)	(4,905)
Janitor		(2,624)	(2,677)	(2,731)	(2,786)	(2,842)	(2,900)	(2,958)	(3,018)	(3,079)	(3,141)
Heat		(2,150)	(2,193)	(2,237)	(2,282)	(2,329)	(2,376)	(2,423)	(2,472)	(2,522)	(2,573)
Electricity		(1,009)	(1,030)	(1,050)	(1,072)	(1,093)	(1,115)	(1,138)	(1,161)	(1,184)	(1,208)
Water		(1,211)	(1,236)	(1,260)	(1,286)	(1,312)	(1,338)	(1,365)	(1,393)	(1,421)	(1,450)
Property Tax		(7,872)	(8,031)	(8,193)	(8,358)	(8,527)	(8,699)	(8,875)	(9,054)	(9,237)	(9,423)
Insurance		(2,624)	(2,677)	(2,731)	(2,786)	(2,842)	(2,900)	(2,958)	(3,018)	(3,079)	(3,141)
Total Expenses		(25,698)	(26,215)	(26,743)	(27,281)	(27,830)	(28,390)	(28,961)	(29,544)	(30,139)	(30,745)
Net Operating Income (NOI)		56,382	57,507	58,654	59,823	61,016	62,233	63,474	64,740	66,031	67,348
Debt											
Tranche 1		(55,205)	(55,205)	(55,205)	(55,205)	(55,205)	(55,205)	(55,205)	(55,205)	(55,205)	(55,205)
Tranche 2		(7,901)	(7,901)	(7,901)	(7,901)	(7,901)	(7,901)	(7,901)	(7,901)	(7,901)	(7,901)
Total Debt		(63,106)	(63,106)	(63,106)	(63,106)	(63,106)	(63,106)	(63,106)	(63,106)	(63,106)	(63,106)

Figure 9.1: Input sheet 2 used in pro forma

Total Rent	\$	7,200	\$	7,200	\$	7,200	\$	7,200	\$	7,200	\$	7,200	\$	7,200	\$	7,200	\$	7,200
Vacancy1		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90
Vacancy2		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90
Vacancy3		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90
Vacancy4		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90		-\$90
Total Vacancy		-\$360		-\$360		-\$360		-\$360		-\$360		-\$360		-\$360		-\$360		-\$360
Total Revenue		\$6,840		\$6,840		\$6,840		\$6,840		\$6,840		\$6,840		\$6,840		\$6,840		\$6,840
Expenses																		
Management		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342
Repairs		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342		-\$342
Janitor		-\$217		-\$217		-\$217		-\$218		-\$218		-\$219		-\$219		-\$220		-\$221
Heat		-178		-178		-178		-178		-179		-179		-180		-180		-181
Electricity		-83		-83		-84		-84		-84		-84		-84		-85		-85
Water		-100		-100		-100		-101		-101		-101		-101		-102		-102
Property Tax		-650		-651		-652		-653		-654		-655		-657		-658		-659
Insurance		-217		-217		-217		-218		-218		-218		-219		-219		-220
Total Expenses		-2128		-2131		-2133		-2135		-2138		-2140		-2143		-2145		-2148
Net Operating Income (NOI)		4712		4709		4707		4705		4702		4700		4697		4695		4692
Debt																		
Tranche 1		-4127		-4127		-4127		-4127		-4127		-4127		-4127		-4127		-4127
Tranche 2		-344		-344		-344		-344		-344		-344		-344		-344		-344
Total Debt		-4471		-4471		-4471		-4471		-4471		-4471		-4471		-4471		-4471

Figure 9.2: Input sheet 3 used in pro forma

Occupied Units Paying Rent In Chicopee's West End							
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Less Than \$500 Dollars	20.50%	21.00%	21.30%	22.60%	18.20%	16.00%	12.70%
\$500-\$999	70.60%	68.40%	65.20%	61.10%	61.00%	65.20%	66.60%
\$1,000-\$1,499	5.40%	7.00%	9.30%	13.50%	19.80%	18.80%	20.70%
\$1,500-\$1999	3.50%	3.60%	4.20%	2.80%	1.00%	0.00%	0.00%
\$2,000-\$2,499	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
\$2,500-\$2,999	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
\$3,000 or more	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Figure 9.3: Occupied units paying rent in the West End

Occupied Units Paying Rent In Chicopee's West End Neighborhood (2010-2016)

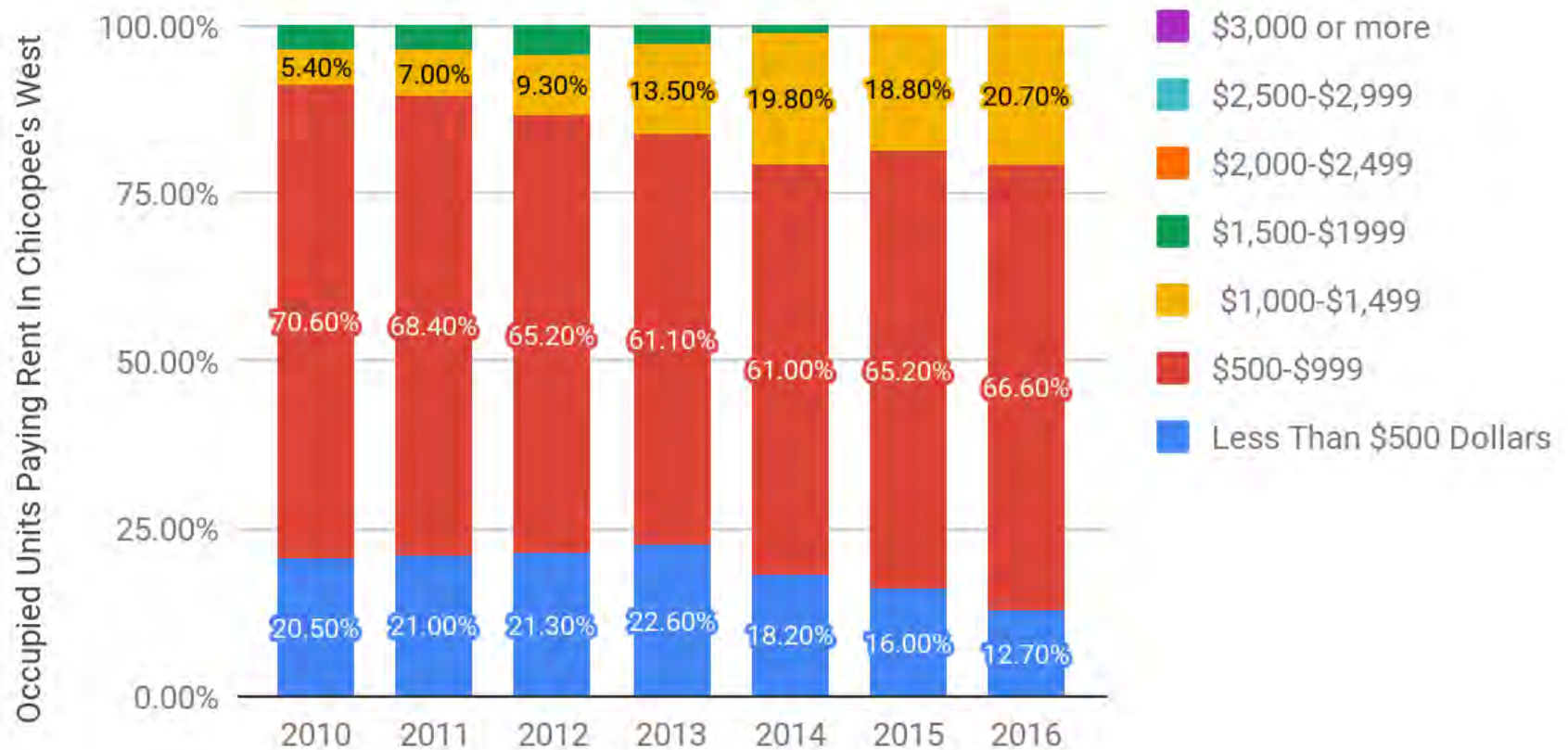


Figure 9.4: Occupied units paying rent from 2010-2016

In order to understand how projected rents from the pro forma model stack up to what renters in the West End neighborhood currently pay in rent, CCP analyzed data from the American Community Survey between 2010 and 2016 (Figure 9.3).

In 2016, about two-thirds (67%) of renters paid between \$500 and \$1,000 a month in rent, while about 12% of renters paid rents lower than \$500 a month. With nearly 80% of West End residents paying less than \$1,000 a month in rent, this trend suggests that West End residents would be paying considerably higher for market-rate housing than they are currently paying in rent.

Conclusion

The main finding from CCP's pro forma is that the developer of the 4-unit multifamily building on the example lot in the West End neighborhood would need to charge at least \$1,800 in rent in order for the development to be financially profitable. This amount in rent, however, is considerably higher than what West End residents currently pay in rent, suggesting that rental subsidies might help to bridge the gap.

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Chapter 10: Transportation

Traffic Impact Analysis

Although the primary focus of this report is a housing study, an increase in housing has the potential to increase traffic. Therefore, CCP conducted a preliminary traffic impact analysis in order to highlight areas of current concern and those that might pose challenges in the future. CCP investigated two key locations for this study, including the intersection of West Street and Exchange Street and the intersection of Front Street and Cabot Street.



Figure 10.0: Locations of traffic studies within the West End

Traffic Turning Count at Front Street and Cabot Street

Front Street and Cabot Street are positioned directly in front of the Cabotville Mill and Site 5. CCP believed this intersection influenced the surrounding land use patterns enough to warrant a turning movement study. A turning movement study is an observational technique used by transportation engineers and planners in order to determine whether a traffic levels meet or exceed a roadway's designed demand. Furthermore a turning movement count can provide more information on the traffic patterns within a community. The turning count studies occurred on November 15th and 19th from 4-5 PM. CCP chose this time in an attempt to catch the peak hour (rush hour) without collecting data for the entire day.

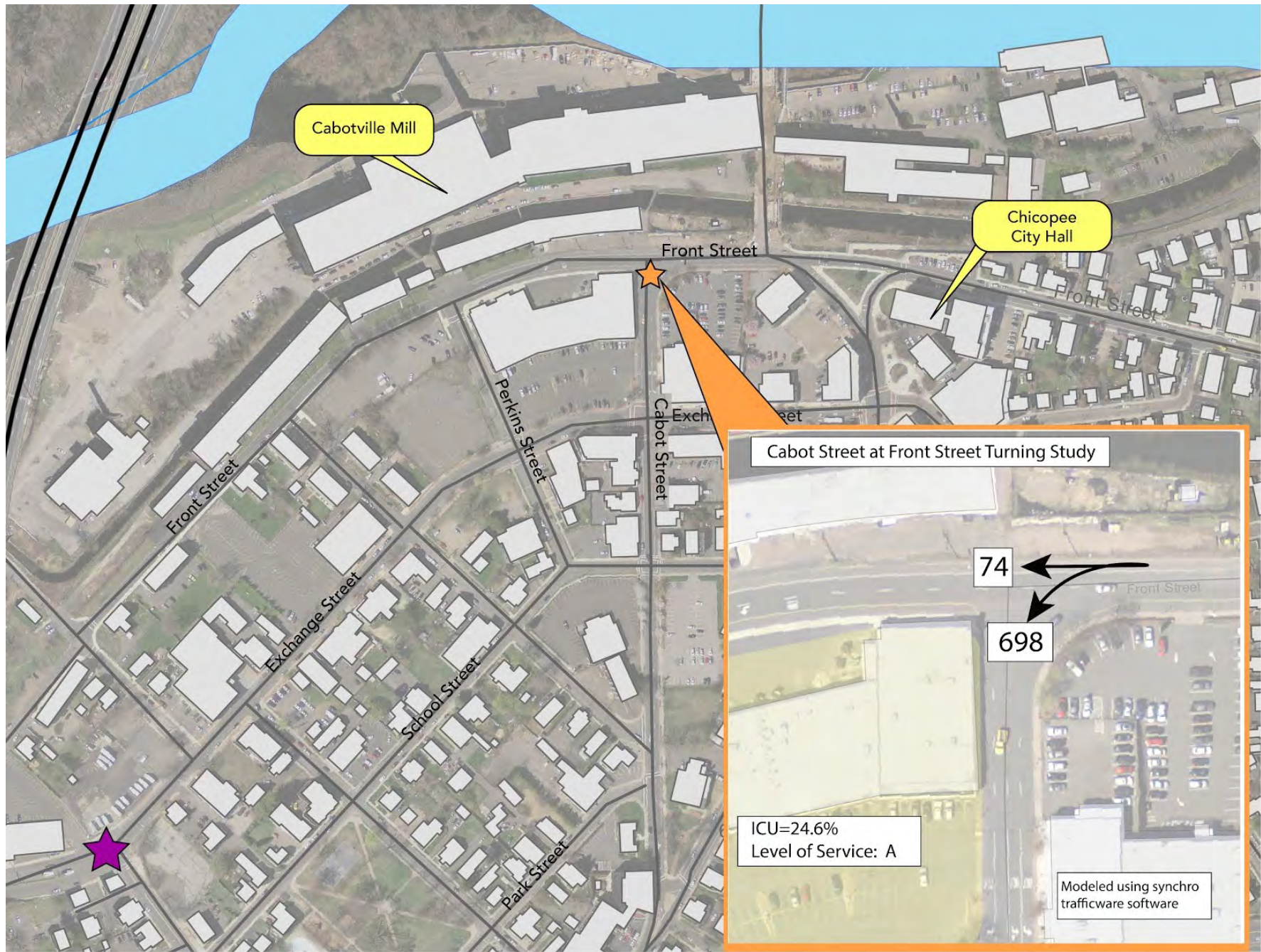


Figure 10.1: Traffic study on Front St. in West End

Cabot Street & Front Street Analysis

11/19/2018

(Synchro Trafficware)



Lane Group	EBT	EBR	WBL	WBT	NBL	NBR
Lane Configurations			↰	↱		
Traffic Volume (vph)	0	0	698	74	0	0
Peak Hour Factor	0.92	0.92	0.92	0.92	0.92	0.92

Intersection Summary

Control Type: Unsignalized

Intersection Capacity Utilization 24.6%

ICU Level of Service A

Analysis Period (min) 60 Minutes

Figure 10.2: Current conditions: Cabot St. and Front St. turning count



Figure 10.3: View of Front St.

As shown in Figure 10.2, over the span of an hour, 698 vehicles turned from Front Street to Cabot Street, while only 74 vehicles continued on Front Street. However, traffic volume must be compared per lane in order to determine whether the intersection is being utilized to its full capacity. Using Synchro trafficware software, CCP discovered that the intersection at Front and Cabot Streets was only 24% utilized (Intersection Capacity Utilization=24.6), with a Level of Service (LOS) A.

A common misconception in transportation planning is that intersections must be designed for Level of Service A. Oftentimes, Level of Service A correlates to an over-designed intersection that may be wider than traffic demand (Table 10.0).

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Level of Service (LOS)	Definition	Delay per Vehicle (At Unsignalized Intersections)
LOS A	Traffic flows freely at or above posted speed limit.	<10 seconds
LOS B	Traffic flows reasonably freely.	10-15 seconds
LOS C	Traffic flow is stable. Lane changes require some aware-	15-25 seconds
LOS D	Approaching unstable flow. Slight decrease in speed.	25-35 seconds
LOS E	Unstable flow. Roadway has now reached capacity.	35-50 seconds
LOS F	More roadway demand than capacity. Stopped traffic.	>50 seconds

Table 10.0: Understanding level of service ratings, as defined by the AASHTO Geometric Design Guide

When considering the number of lanes in a street, traffic engineers and planners use the concept of maximum saturation flow rate, or the maximum number of vehicles per lane that can utilize an intersection in one hour. This saturation flow rate is defined in engineering literature as a standard 1,900 passenger cars, per hour, per lane. Since a roadway lane at 1,900pc/hr/ln would essentially be at a standstill, engineers often design the road to be less than this rate.

At the intersection of Cabot and Front Street, the traffic volume was only 772 passenger cars per hour, which is 20% of 3,800 ($1,900 * 2 \text{ lanes} = 3,800$). In other words, this intersection is overdesigned. Even if one lane was completely removed, the traffic volume would only be 40% of the maximum saturation flow rate and would be able to function without increased congestion. Furthermore, two lanes on Front Street are also unnecessary, with volumes only 2% ($74/3,800$) of the saturation flow rate. With this analysis in mind, CCP will be able to recommend traffic calming methods for this intersection without generating congestion.

Traffic Turning Count at West Street

The West Street, Front Street and Exchange Street intersection has the potential to become more utilized with the renovations of the Cabotville and Lyman Mills, since the intersection is one of two access points to the mill district. Currently, this intersection is an unsignalized five-way intersection, with only one stop sign on West Street. All other directions can travel freely. The results from CCP's hour-long vehicle turning count can be seen in Figure 10.2. Although the intersection is quite large, this intersection sees minimal traffic in its current state, utilizing around 35.2% of its full capacity (Level of Service A). While not as underutilized as Front Street and Cabot Street, if present conditions remained the same, traffic calming and road narrowing could reduce the risk of crashes in this area without increasing congestion.

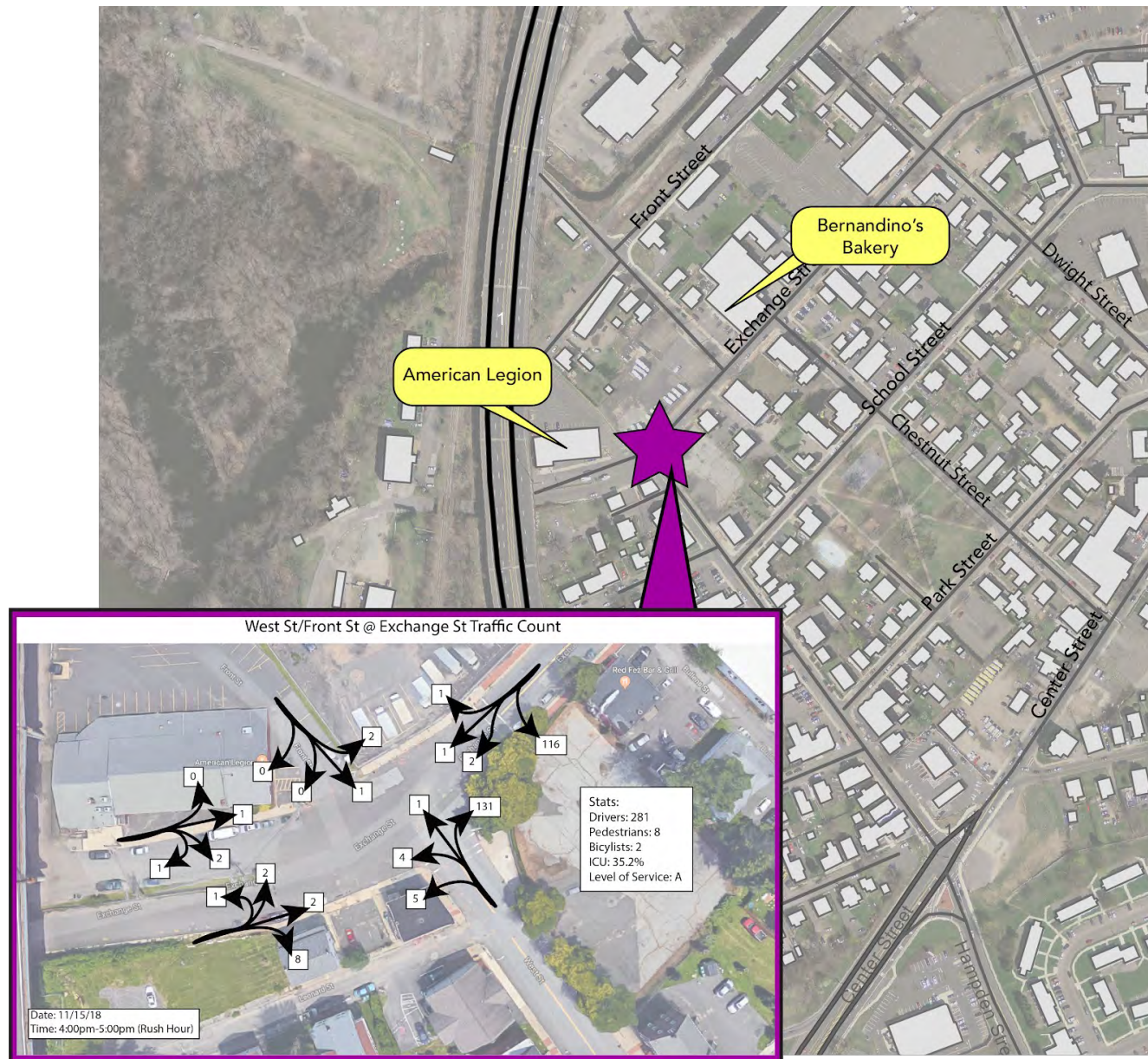


Figure 10.4: Traffic study on Exchange St.

West Street @ Exchange Street (Synchro Analysis)

11/15/18

Intersection Summary

Control Type: Unsignalized

Intersection Capacity Utilization 35.2%

ICU Level of Service A

Analysis Period (min) 60 Minutes

Description: West @ Exchange

Figure 10.5: Current conditions: West St. and Exchange St. turning count



Figure 10.6: View of Exchange St.

Developmental Impact Assessment: West Street at Exchange Street

The proposed Cabotville and Lyman Mill conversions have the potential to increase traffic flow through the West Street and Exchange Street intersection. With roughly 710 housing units coming to Chicopee in the near future, the expected increased population of the neighborhood could have a dramatic impact on Chicopee Center's street network. The engineering standard for any development impact study is to assume (for apartments) 7 driving trips per day per rental unit, with 0.7 falling within the peak hour Table 10.1. In other words, Engineering standards assume that any new resident will move their car seven times per day, with 0.7 trips occurring during the busiest hour in the neighborhood (rush hour).

Housing Type	Trips Per Day	Trips per Peak Hour
Single Family Home (per unit)	10	1
Apartments/ Townhouse/Condo (per unit)	7	0.7
Office (per 1000 sq ft)	10	1.5
Retail (per 1000 sq ft)	38	4.2
Industrial (per 1000 sq ft)	5	0.9


























Table 10.1: Developmental traffic impact standards according to the ITE Trip Generation Report, 10th Edition

With 710 apartment units coming to Chicopee, using the ITE Trip Generation Report, CCP expects an increase in 4,970 trips per day, with 497 of those trips falling in the peak hour. To demonstrate the potential impact this estimation has on the existing road network, CCP modeled the West Street/Front Street and Exchange Street intersection during the same time period (4-5pm) adding 497 trips. Figure 10.7 shows the turning counts, as well as the general intersection summary for the West Street at Exchange Street intersection.

In general, when modeling the additional vehicle trips from the proposed mill redevelopment, the intersection utilization rate increases considerably to around 64% (ICU=64.3%), and the level of service decreases from LOS A to LOS C. While LOS C is still considered an acceptable value by engineering standards, any additional industrial or commercial redevelopment along Exchange Street has the potential to further lower the level of service of this intersection. Therefore, CCP recommends that the City investigate alternative solutions at this intersection, which will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 11: Neighborhood-Wide Recommendations.

West Street @ Exchange Street Traffic Impact Analysis

11/15/18

																	
Lane Group	EBL	EBT	WBL2	WBL	WBT	WBR	NBL2	NBL	NBT	NBR	SBL	SBT	SBR	SBR2	NEL	NER	NER2
Lane Configurations																	
Traffic Volume (vph)	2	1	5	4	1	379	1	2	2	8	364	2	1	1	1	2	1
Future Volume (vph)	2	1	5	4	1	379	1	2	2	8	364	2	1	1	1	2	1
Satd. Flow (prot)	0	1803	0	0	1615	0	0	0	1682	0	0	1773	0	0	1655	0	0
Flt Permitted		0.968			0.999				0.989			0.953			0.988		
Satd. Flow (perm)	0	1803	0	0	1615	0	0	0	1682	0	0	1773	0	0	1655	0	0
Lane Group Flow (vph)	0	3	0	0	422	0	0	0	14	0	0	400	0	0	4	0	0
Sign Control		Free			Stop				Free			Free			Free		

Intersection Summary

Control Type: Unsignalized

Intersection Capacity Utilization 64.3%

ICU Level of Service C

Analysis Period (min) 15

Description: West @ Exchange

Figure 10.7: Traffic impact analysis results, modeled with Synchro

Conclusion

CCP conducted the vehicle turning counts and traffic impact analysis in order to understand and illustrate the potential effects that the redevelopment projects might have on the existing road network. With the rapid growth of housing stock within the West End neighborhood, conducting these analysis provide some insight into how future demand might impact the existing street network. However, it important to note that many traffic studies reinforce suburbanization, contradicting Chicopee's desire for a dense urban center. However, CCP traffic study, while not extensive, will provide enough material to provide initial recommendations surrounding the sites directed by the Client.

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Chapter 11: Neighborhood-Wide Recommendations

Neighborhood Recommendations

CCP formulated five neighborhood recommendations for Chicopee's West End neighborhood based on a synthesis of precedent studies, demographic research, and public engagement outreach. Through these neighborhood recommendations, CCP hopes to satisfy the Client directive of developing visions for future housing and economic development in the West End neighborhood. Recommendations within this section are organized in two parts that include housing recommendations and economic development recommendations.

Housing Recommendations

Housing recommendations focus on developing new housing and rehabilitating the existing housing stock within the West End neighborhood. By following the tools and techniques under each recommendation, CCP hopes to promote a variety of housing styles and types within the neighborhood made possible through several funding programs.

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Create Urban Center Housing Tax Increment Financing (UCH-TIF) Program

Overview

The Urban Center Housing Tax Increment Financing (UCH-TIF) program is a Massachusetts program run by the Department of Housing and Community Development to promote housing and commercial development within a designated area. By freezing property taxes on pre-investment property values for a 15 to 20 year period, a UCH-TIF district provides property tax exemptions on the increased value of the improved real estate. By issuing bonds, the city can then raise funds to support existing property owners through property renovation grants. The bonds will be paid back once the UCH-TIF is lifted by the increased property tax revenues that result from the development that has taken place. In addition, 25% of funds from the UCH-TIF program must be used for low-income housing units.

Cities and towns with designated commercial centers in need of multi-family housing may participate in the UCH-TIF program. Qualifying commercial centers are areas with a higher population density during business hours, compared to non-business hours or commercial centers in surrounding areas of a similar size. Other Massachusetts communities have taken part in this program, including Framingham and Pittsfield.

Unlike a conventional Tax Increment Financing (TIF) program, the UCH-TIF program focuses its efforts on housing in an urban commercial center, with the goal of spurring commercial, multi-family, and mixed-use development. Furthermore, funding generated from the UCH-TIF only applies to housing within the designated area, unlike a conventional TIF, where funds can be used for other governmental services.

The UCH-TIF program's focus on both promoting economic development while preserving low-income housing is ideal for the West End community, where the Client aims to foster increased economic activity while maintaining and supporting a diverse population of residents.

Implementation of a UCH-TIF requires a local approval process, the designation of the UCH-TIF zone, negotiations of UCH-TIF agreements, a public hearing, and the creation of a UCH-TIF plan. Due to the relatively new nature of this program, the following section attempts to outline the implementation process in further detail. Before submitting an UCH-TIF application to the Massachusetts Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCD), the city of Chicopee should follow the regulatory requirements under 760 CMR 58.04, to follow the process outlined in the following steps.

Implementation Process

6 months:

- Designate the West End neighborhood as a UCH-TIF zone.
- Develop a preliminary UCH-TIF plan identifying the UCH-TIF zone and outline the parameters of the renovation grant program.
- Hold a public hearing to discuss and vote on the adoption of the UCH-TIF plan. (Note that at the time of the public hearing, agreements with individual property owners do not have to be part of proposed plan).

.1-2 years:

- Adopt the UCH-TIF program.
- Issue a municipal bond to raise funds to support the renovation grant program.
- Solicit proposals from property owners interested in accessing the program.
- Negotiate with individual property owners to develop suitable projects for the West End.
- Vote to implement the tax increment exemptions for identified property owners. Exemptions must not exceed 20 years.

3-5 years:

- Submit approved UCH-TIF West End plan (including identified zone and property owner agreements) to the Massachusetts Department of Housing and Community Development for review.
- Obtain state approval to implement the program.
- Launch identified development projects in the UCH-TIF zone.

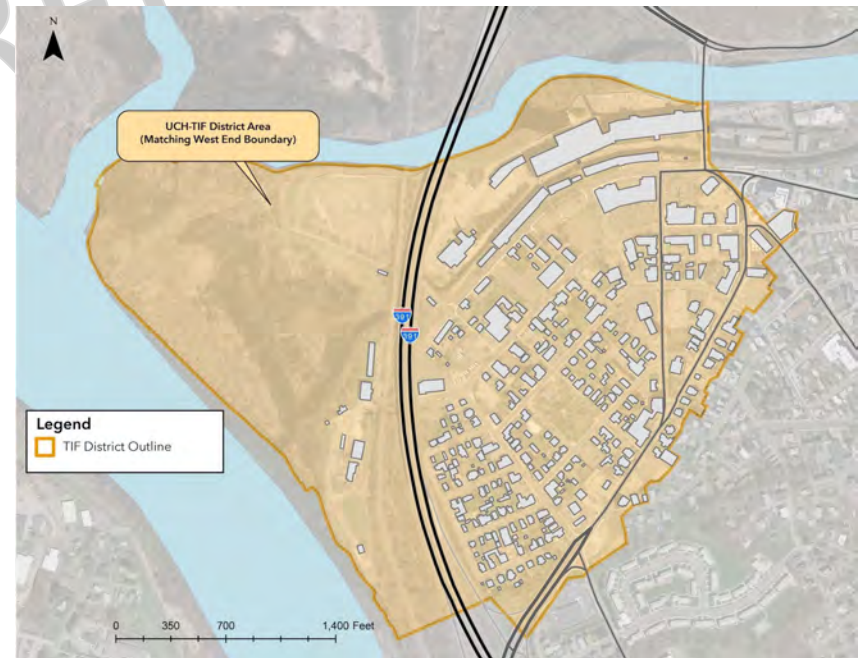


Figure 11.0: Proposed location of UCH-TIF district



Create Urban Center Housing Tax Increment Financing (UCH-TIF) Program



Outcome: Improve the quality, diversity, and density of housing stock and promote local economy

Figure 11.1: Implementation timeline for Housing Recommendation 1



Adopt Community Preservation Act (CPA)

Overview

As a relatively new Massachusetts state law (2000), the Community Preservation Act enables communities to create a local fund, called a Community Preservation Fund, dedicated to preserving open space, historic resources, and low-income housing. Funding for the Community Preservation Fund is generated through a city-wide property tax surcharge of up to 3%. These local funds are then matched at the state level, with variation in the percentage of state matching from year to year. Of the funds raised through the CPA, 10% must be utilized toward open space and recreation projects, 10% must be utilized toward historic preservation projects, and 10% must be used toward community housing projects. The remaining 70% may be used toward projects in any of these categories.

CCP recommends that Chicopee adopt the Community Preservation Act and require that up to 50% of the CPA funds be used for construction or renovation of low-income housing with fixed rent agreements for current residents. This stipulation will ensure that current residents are able to remain in the West End neighborhood regardless of rising income levels in the surrounding area. In addition, CCP recommends that Chicopee use these funds to preserve and highlight the historic character of the West End neighborhood. The CPA funds may be supplemented with other state and federal historic preservation programs, such as the Massachusetts Preservation Projects Fund.

Implementation Process

6 months:

- Generate community-wide awareness about and support for the Community Preservation Act (CPA).
- Hold a series of public meetings to educate the public and gain buy-in from property owners.

1-2 years:

- Develop a CPA plan, outlining the amount and uses of the proposed tax surcharge.
- Adopt the Community Preservation Act in Chico-pee.
- Empower community members to vote in favor of the act.

3-5 years:

- Establish a diverse CPA committee to oversee the program.
- Recruit stakeholders from city government, community organizations, and the resident population to guide the implementation of the CPA plan, including the expenditure of funds.

2

Adopt Community Preservation Act (CPA)



Outcome: Generate local capital to invest in building a diverse housing stock

Figure 11.2: Implementation timeline for Housing Recommendation 2



Figure 11.3: Home in Chicopee



Implement Chapter 40R District

Overview

Chapter 40R of the Massachusetts General Law, also known as the Smart Growth Zoning Overlay District Act, encourages communities to increase the legal allowable density in a designated zone in order to increase the supply of affordable housing, locate more housing near transit stations, and create walkable mixed-use neighborhoods in already existing city and town centers. 40R districts work best in areas of concentrated development, such as city centers, areas near transit stations, or other existing urban or semi-urban communities. The benefits of a smart growth district include a focus on mixed-use apartment style development, as well as the promotion of low-income housing units (up to 20%). A Chapter 40R district allows densities up to 8 units/acre for single family homes, 12 units/acre for townhouses, and 20 units/acre for condominiums and apartments.

By enacting Chapter 40R, Chicopee would also become eligible for Chapter 40S, an additional state density bonus providing funding from \$10,000 up to \$600,000 depending on the density of development. These state funds may be used to cover increased education costs associated with new residents moving into the city. In Chicopee's case, since the majority of residents moving into the redevelopment mills will likely be young professionals and not families, state funding from Chapter 40S could be used to improve the quality of public education for existing residents within the neighborhood.

Based on findings from CCP's public engagement process, which found that many Chicopee residents preferred high-density, mixed-use homes, CCP recommends that the City implement Chapter 40R and Chapter 40S in the West End neighborhood. Since a Chapter 40R district will encourage high-density, mixed-use development, this recommendation closely aligns with overall neighborhood housing preferences.

Implementation Process

6 months:

- Generate public support for the Chapter 40R district.
- Hold a series of public forums to outline Chapter 40R benefits and challenges, and build community support for the program.

1-2 years:

- Develop a Chapter 40R application for Massachusetts Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCD).
- Outline the proposed location, underlying zoning, smart growth plan design standards, housing plan, and proposed infrastructure improvements for the Chapter 40R district.

3-5 years:

- Implement the Chapter 40R district.
- Solicit infill development and renovation of existing properties to increase density in the West End neighborhood.
- Receive Chapter 40S incentive bonus payments from the state based on the projected additional units the 40R district will add. This is calculated by considering both the current number of units before 40R implementation, as well as the projected additional number of units under the new 40R zoning law.
- Monitor development for demonstrating increased density for the state.
- Receive additional Chapter 40S incentive bonus payments from the state, with each building permit within the established 40R district qualifying the City for an additional state bonus payment.



Implement Chapter 40R District



Outcome: Promote mixed-use, high-density residential development

Figure 11.4: Implementation timeline for Housing Recommendation 3

Economic Development Recommendations

The recommendations outlined in this section focus broadly on promoting economic activity with the West End neighborhood. The recommendations aim to expand the City's relationships with private developers and create a regulatory environment that promotes the revitalization of the West End neighborhood. In doing so, these recommendations aim to support and promote the needs and desires of both existing residents as well as newcomers. By utilizing the tools and techniques outlined in this section, the Client will help to create a more vibrant, walkable neighborhood that attracts residents and visitors into this historic neighborhood.

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Figure 11.5: Storefronts in the West End



Increase City Capacity to Support Economic Development

Overview

Increasing the city of Chicopee's capacity to support economic development in the West End requires both a vision and the staff capacity to realize that vision. CCP recommends that the City hire an Economic Development Planner to oversee the development and implementation of an economic development strategy focused on the West End neighborhood. In doing so, this staff member will convene a committee of stakeholders including government officials, business owners, and residents to take part in a visioning process that will inform the development of the strategy. The Economic Development Planner will work with this committee to adapt and update the strategy through its implementation, working to create a unified economic vision for the West End.

This new staff person will also play a strategic role in encouraging and facilitating investment in the West End community by ensuring that existing businesses have the resources they need to thrive and attracting new businesses into the community. By assisting with permitting and licensing, site selection, financing programs, and workforce development programs, as well as building partnerships with local and regional partners such as the Massachusetts Office of Business Development, MassDevelopment, the U.S. Small Business Association, and local agencies, this staff person will generate the tax revenue to fund their own position. This coordination will allow the city of Chicopee to create and implement a collaborative and sustainable economic development strategy.

CCP's conversations with business owners in the West End highlighted the need to establish stronger connections between business owners and the City. Interview participants mentioned that they felt there was a disconnect between the downtown business environment and the city government. In addition, interview participants stated that they would like to see more small businesses opening in the West End. These public engagement findings were supported by

CCP's business inventory analysis (see Chapter 2), which illuminated the need to maintain open storefronts throughout all hours of the day to promote an active downtown both during and after business hours. By hiring a staff person focused specifically on fostering a vibrant West End neighborhood, the City will demonstrate its commitment to this neighborhood.

Implementation Process

6 months:

- Hire an economic development planner.
- Synthesize findings from previous public engagement campaigns to outline an economic development strategy for the West End.

1-2 years:

- Convene a diverse multi-stakeholder economic development committee.
- Encourage existing West End businesses to participate on the committee and share their perspectives about the existing business climate in the West End.
- Develop an economic development strategy to guide the revitalization of the West End.
- Develop metrics for evaluating success.

3-5 years:

- Spearhead economic development strategy.
- Collaborate with the multi-stakeholder committee to develop actionable steps to implementing the economic development strategy.
- Monitor success in meeting established metrics.

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1

Increase City Capacity to Support Economic Development



Outcome: Improved economic vitality for local business in the West End

Figure 11.6: Implementation timeline for Economic Development Recommendation 1

2

Modify Land-Use Regulations to Address Challenges in West End

2a

Update zoning code to align with economic development strategy

Overview

While economic development policies and programs are integral to revitalizing the West End neighborhood, regulating land-use will also play a major role. Literature in the planning field demonstrates that a City's zoning code has a tremendous impact on the rate and type of urban development in cities. By updating the City's zoning code, Chicopee can create the regulatory conditions which will promote high-density mixed-use development in the West End's central commercial district, while also supporting the development of a diverse housing stock, including protecting low-income housing.

By conducting a Lynch analysis, CCP identified numerous sub districts within the West End Neighborhood. These districts include an entrance district, a downtown district, a mill district and a transitional/mixed-use district, surrounding two residential districts. Each of these subdistricts contain different land-use elements, road styles and building heights.

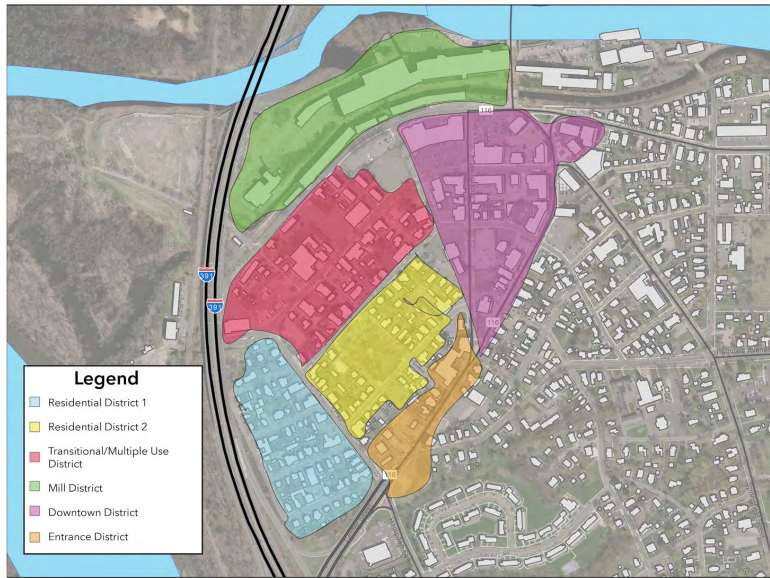


Figure 11.7: Sub-districts within the West End identified in the Lynch analysis section

Using this data generated from the Lynch analysis, CCP recommends that the City update its zoning code to establish three zones in the West End neighborhood. Currently, Chicopee's Central Business District consists of three non-connected parcels in the West End. By expanding the central business district to include the entire downtown area, Chicopee has the opportunity to change the zoning code for this part of the neighborhood, creating opportunity for dense mixed-use development. CCP recommends that the Central Business District run along Front St. and wrap around Center St., including

the gateway to the neighborhood. This zone will contain the dense mixed-use commercial core of the West End, represented in blue on Figure 11.5.

Next to the central business district is the mill zone, also allowing high density mixed-use development, confined to the existing mill structures. The mill district is located on the northern edge of the neighborhood, represented in purple on Figure 11.5. Finally, the residential zone will run east, outward to the western edge of the neighborhood, containing a less dense residential zone, represented in green on Figure 11.5. By re-writing the zoning code to reflect these three districts, the West End will be able to better manage and facilitate the types of development occurring throughout the neighborhood. This will enable the City to meet its goal of both increasing economic activity and maintaining access to diverse housing options in the West End.

Implementation Process

6 months:

- Synthesize existing information about current land-use challenges in Chicopee's business environment, including existing City plans as well as the public engagement findings and recommendations outlined in this report.

1-2 years:

- Convene an Advisory Committee made up of representatives from the Department of Planning and Development, the City Council, legal advisors, business owners, and residents to draft an updated zoning code.
- Propose the updated zoning regulation to City Council for review at a public forum.
- Make amendments to the regulation.

3-5 years:

- Obtain approval of updated zoning code from City Council.
- Implement new zoning code.

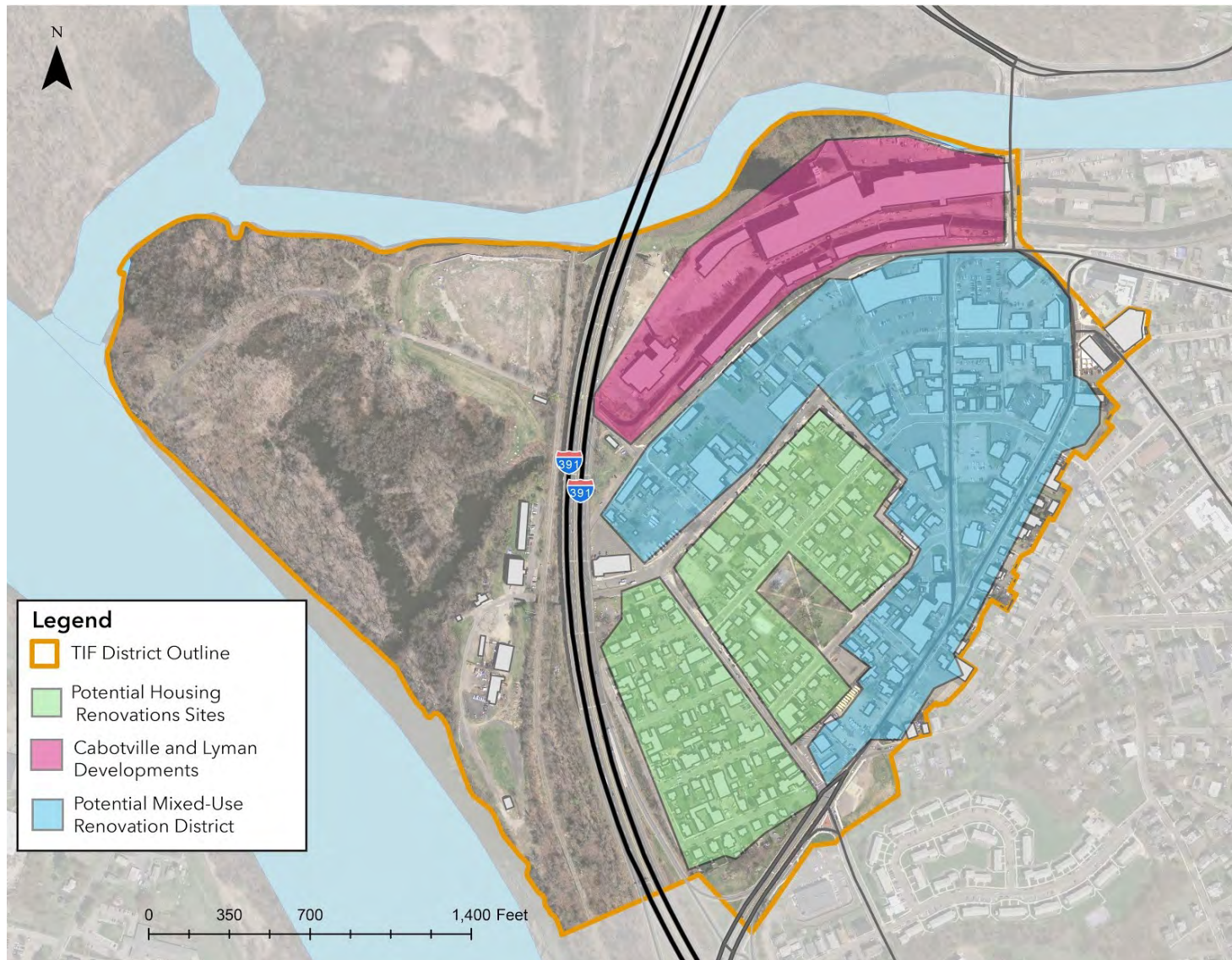


Figure 11.8: Proposed expansion of Central Business District in the West End



Update parking regulations to promote economic development activity in the Central Business District

Overview

CCP recommends that the Client update its parking regulations in the West End. Planning literature states that by reducing parking requirements for developers, cities can promote the construction of multi-family housing that may not have been financially feasible before. In the West End, there is ample parking, yet much of it is privately owned. In addition, some publicly-owned parking lots are unmarked, and participants in CCP's one-on-one interviews stated that on-street parking time limits are often left unenforced. As a result, several participants shared that area residents have the impression that there is not enough accessible parking downtown.

Number of Units*	Number of Parking Spaces Required by Chicopee Zoning Code
1 Unit	1.5 Parking spaces
10 Units	1.5 Parking spaces per unit + 2 Guest spaces per 10 units
10 Square feet of commercial space	2 Parking spaces

Table 11.0: Current parking requirements as per city of Chicopee's zoning ordinance (section 275-40)

In addition, existing parking regulations in Chicopee prohibit dense development by requiring a large amount of parking spaces per residential or commercial unit. Chicopee's current zoning code requires a variance in order for a development to be excluded from the parking requirements of the City. To illustrate the severity of the current parking requirements, Table 11.0 demonstrates the current parking regulations in Chicopee. For a one unit structure, regardless of lot size, one and a half parking spaces are required. This makes dense development that fits within a conventional downtown area difficult to build.

The severity of these parking requirements is highlighted within the proposed Cabotville and Lyman developments, which under existing parking regulations, would require an additional 1,287 parking spaces within the downtown area (Table 11.1).

Since adding this many additional parking spots is unrealistic, the developers required a parking waiver. While the Cabotville and Lyman developers were able to obtain the waiver, it is these long permitting processes that may discourage other developers from investing in the West End neighborhood. Aligning parking requirements with unit density is essential to promote more economic activity within the West End Neighborhood and create a more favorable development environment.

In the short-term, CCP recommends that the City

Development	# of Units	Parking Spaces Required	Guest Spaces Required	Commercial Spaces Required	Total Requirements
Lyman Mill	110	165	22	0* (No commercial)	187
Cabotville Mill	600	900	120	80 (400,000 sqft)	1100

Table 11.1: Current parking requirements for mill redevelopment as per current zoning requirements (section 275-40)

continue to optimize and reclaim already existing public parking within the West End Neighborhood. This includes enforcing the current time limits to keep long-term parking separate from short-term visitor parking and adding signage to existing public parking lots. In addition, adding wayfinding signage throughout the neighborhood will help residents and visitors locate amenities in the West End, including parking lots.

In the long term, CCP recommends that the city of Chicopee develop a Neighborhood Parking Plan, modeled after Traffic and Parking Ordinance of the City of Newton, Massachusetts (Newton TPR-176). In the plan, CCP recommends that Chicopee differentiate between short-term and long-term parking by enforcing on-street parking limits within the Central Business District. In addition, CCP recommends introducing a free parking permit program for business owners and residents, allowing them to park on residential side streets during conventional business hours. This plan keeps short-term visitor parking within the core of Chicopee's downtown, while still offering free on-street parking to workers and residents on adjacent roads. Figure 11.7 demonstrates this parking plan.

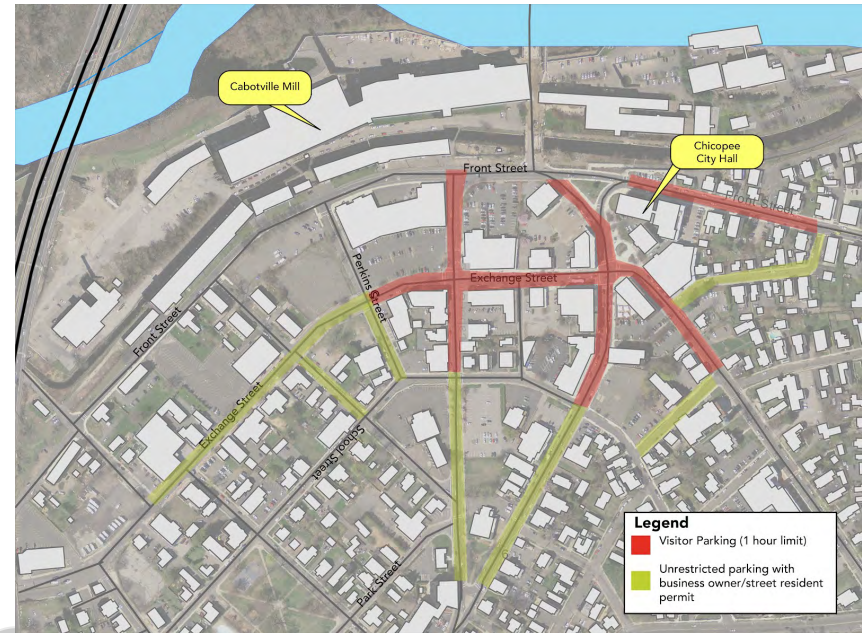


Figure 11.9: Neighborhood Parking Plan for the West End

Implementation Process

6 months:

- Synthesize existing information about current parking challenges in the West End neighborhood, including existing City plans as well as the public engagement findings and recommendations outlined in this report.
- Alert the public through public access television, local newspapers, the City website, and social media platforms that parking regulations will be enforced going forward.

1-2 years:

- Install proper signage to indicate short-term, long-term, visitor, and resident parking.
- Install wayfinding signage to help orient residents and visitors in the Central Business District.
- Work with the Chicopee Police Department to enforce time-limited parking in the Central Business District.

- Convene a committee made up of representatives from the Department of Planning and Development, the City Council, business owners, and residents to develop a West End Neighborhood Parking Plan.

- Host a series of public forums and community meetings to gather input and outline the updated parking plan.

3-5 years:

- Present the West End Neighborhood Parking Plan to the Chicopee City Council.
- Alert the public of new parking regulations, install new signage as needed, continue to enforce updated parking regulations.
- Implement the West End Neighborhood Parking Plan.



Convert one-way street network to two-way street network to calm traffic and increase access to businesses in the Central Business District

Overview

CCP's public engagement findings suggested that residents feel that the one-way street network is confusing and difficult to navigate, potentially reducing their patronage of downtown businesses. As demonstrated by CCP's traffic study (see Chapter 10), the circular one-way road network in the West End is over-designed, utilizing between 2% and 40% of the fully designed roadway capacity. This gives the Client an opportunity to re-design the road network without increasing congestion.

CCP recommends creating a standardized two-way road network within the central business district, aiming to reduce driver confusion and create a safer road network. CCP recommends that the city of Chicopee work with the Massachusetts Department of Transportation to conduct a larger traffic study, focusing on traffic speed and volume.

With updated traffic data (the last data recorded was in 2001), the city of Chicopee will be able to make educated roadway design decisions regarding the road network, perhaps using funding from MassDOT's Complete Streets Funding Program. This program provides technical assistance of up to \$50,000 and construction funding of up to \$400,000 for roadway re-design and construction projects.

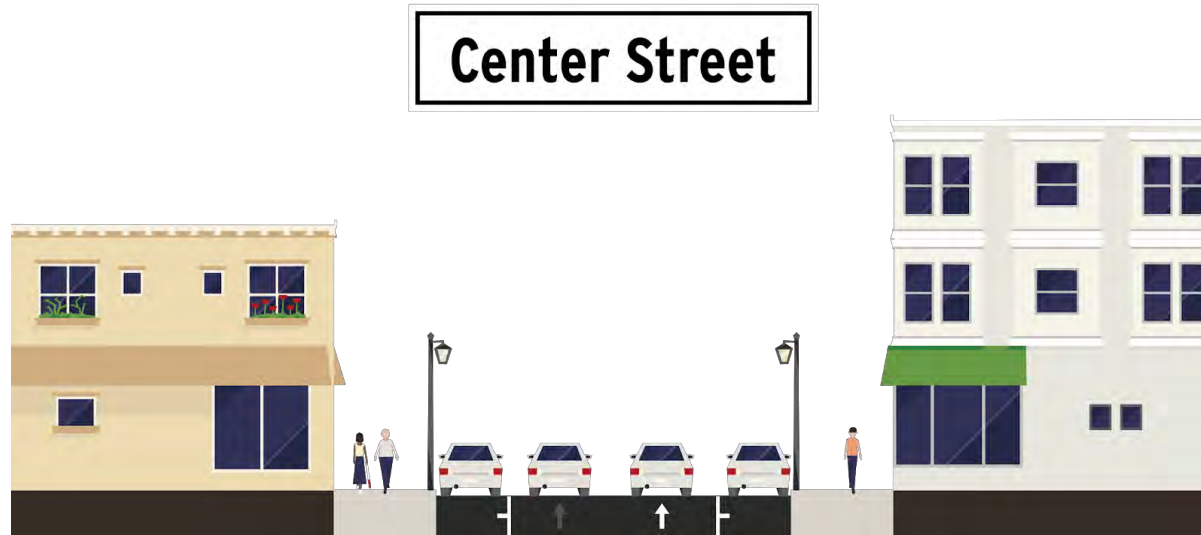


Figure 11.10: Current street layout of Center St. in Chicopee

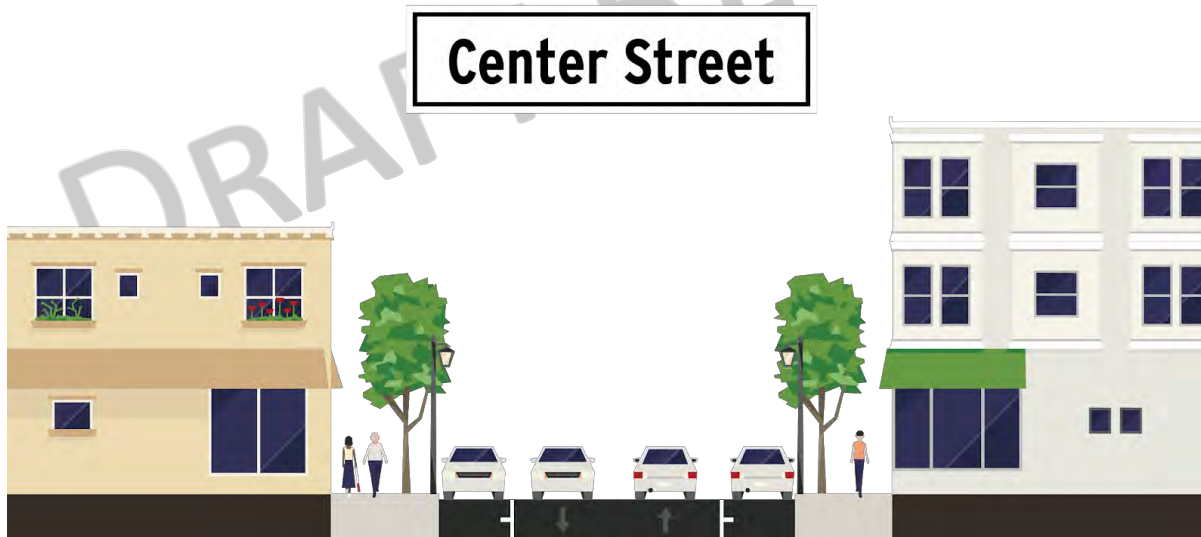


Figure 11.11: Re-envisioned Center St. with two-directional travel and two parking lanes

In addition, CCP recommends that the Client create a more walkable roadway environment in the West End. While reducing street width and adding a two-way road network will reduce vehicular speeds, there are additional techniques that will improve the neighborhood's walkability. First, CCP recommends the replacement of broken pedestrian crossing signals. While this is required by the Americans with Disabilities Act, it also allows the West End to promote walking amongst both visitors and those wishing to age in place. Similarly, repairing broken sidewalks, replacing dead street trees, and re-installing trash cans and benches into the neighborhood would provide durable, litter-free walkable surfaces and enjoyable places to spend time within the neighborhood. Overall, small improvements to the streetscape can go a long way in terms of promoting increased safety for all transportation modes, supporting increased economic development.

Implementation Process

6 months:

- Utilize the data gathered in this report, as well as in previous planning efforts, to identify the West End as a priority area for addressing traffic challenges in the City.
- Partner with the Massachusetts Department of Transportation (MASSDOT) to conduct a traffic study in the West End, focusing on preparing the neighborhood for increased traffic as a result of the Cabotville and Lyman developments.

1-2 years:

- Partner with MASSDOT to develop a traffic mitigation and construction plan for improving traffic flow through the West End.
- Investigate the Massachusetts Complete Streets Funding program as a source of funding to support the implementation of the plan.
- Make initial streetscape improvements, including the replacement of broken pedestrian crossing signals, repairing broken sidewalks, replacing dead street trees, and re-installing trash cans and benches into the neighborhood.

3-5 years:

- Implement the traffic plan and any associated construction to improve traffic flow in the West End.

2

Modify Land-Use Regulations to Address Challenges in West End



Outcome: Develop regulatory environment to promote economic development

Figure 11.12: Implementation timeline for Economic Development Recommendation 2

Conclusion

Together these housing and economic development recommendations promote the Client's goals to increase housing diversity and economic activity in the West End. By incentivizing the development of new housing and the renovation of existing housing, while proactively protecting access to low-income housing, these recommendations will help to promote and support the development of a West End community that provides housing to people with a wide range of incomes. In addition, by increasing the City's capacity to foster a favorable environment for small businesses in the West End, the Client promotes the success of existing business owners while attracting new businesses to the area. In addition, by addressing land-use challenges including the existing zoning code, parking regulations, and traffic flow, the Client creates the regulatory environment which promotes both residential and economic development.

These recommendations will support the Client in providing both the economic and regulatory environment to develop the high density, walkable, mixed-use commercial and residential center that that has been identified as desirable by both the Client, as well as Chicopee residents. In doing so, the City will lay the groundwork for sustaining the long-term development of the West End into a vibrant and diverse community.

Below is a summary timeline which combines all CCP recommendations into one actionable timeline ranging from 6 months to 5 years.

DRAFT REPORT

6 months:

- Designate the Chicopee West End neighborhood as a UCH-TIF zone.
- Generate community-wide awareness about and support for the CPA.
- Generate public support for the Chapter 40R district.
- Hire an Economic Development Planner.
- Synthesize existing information about current land-use challenges in Chicopee's business environment.
- Synthesize existing information about current parking challenges in the West End neighborhood.
- Identify the West End as a priority area for addressing traffic challenge.

1-2 years:

- Adopt the UCH-TIF program.
- Adopt the CPA in Chicopee.
- Develop a Chapter 40R application.
- Convene a committee to draft economic development strategy.
- Make amendments to the zoning code.
- Develop a West End Neighborhood Parking Plan.
- Partner with MASSDOT to develop a traffic mitigation and construction plan.

3-5 years:

- Launch development projects in the UCH-TIF zone.
- Establish a committee to oversee the CPA program.
- Implement the Chapter 40R district.
- Implement economic development strategy.
- Implement new zoning code.
- Implement the West End Neighborhood Parking Plan.
- Implement the traffic plan.



Chapter 12: Conclusion

Conclusion

In Fall 2018, the city of Chicopee partnered with CCP to develop a housing and economic development plan for the West End neighborhood in Chicopee, Massachusetts. The purpose of this plan is to diversify housing options and increase economic development activity in the West End neighborhood in anticipation of two major redevelopment projects that are on the immediate horizon: the renovation of the former Cabotville and Lyman Mills located in the center of the historic West End neighborhood. These two projects have the potential to increase the population of the West End over 85%.

CCP set out three team objectives to meet several Client directives. These team objectives included:

1. Understand historic development, demographics, and context
2. Capture visions for housing and economic development from current residents
3. Develop broad, neighborhood-wide economic development and housing recommendations

CCP achieved the first objective by researching the the history of housing and economic development in the West End neighborhood from the 17th century through today. The team then analyzed past and present demographics in the city of Chicopee and the West End neighborhood to understand historic trends and market demand.

CCP achieved the second objective by developing a public engagement strategy centered around capturing visions for future housing and economic development in the West End through a visual preference survey (VPS) administered at Chicopee's annual Spooktacular event, an online visual preference survey, and one-on-one interviews with community leaders. CCP collected 104 survey responses at Spooktacular and 66 online survey responses. In addition, CCP conducted 9 one-on-one interviews.

CCP achieved the third objective by synthesizing research gathered through the first two objectives to develop neighborhood-wide recommendations for housing and economic development in Chicopee's West End neighborhood.

The process of developing this vision for housing and economic development in Chicopee's West End was based on understanding the neighborhood's greatest strengths and most significant challenges. By analyzing primary sources, demographic information, and public engagement findings, CCP identified the neighborhood's dense street network as a major strength, demonstrating the walkable mixed-use center that once thrived in the West End, and which has immense potential to be developed once again. In addition, CCP identified the close-knit, vibrant, and long-standing cultural community in the West End that has demonstrated its commitment to ensuring the neighborhood is accessible and welcoming to diverse people for almost 400 years. In terms of challenges, CCP identified economic disinvestment as a major problem, including commercial and residential vacancies, as well as aging infrastructure and difficult-to-navigate roadways.

Through the recommendations outlined in this report, CCP aims to cultivate support and resources which strengthen the already flourishing parts of the West End, while outlining steps toward addressing the areas of need.

CCP hopes that these recommendations will provide the Client with a framework and timeline for developing a dense, walkable mixed-use commercial and

residential center that represents the type of community that West End residents want to live in. In addition, CCP hopes that these recommendations will enable the City to continue to foster its long-standing identity as an accessible, tight-knit, and diverse community, while preparing for another new population, which will breathe new life into the West End once again.

DRAFT REPORT

Table A.1 Businesses in the West End Neighborhood

Business/Organization Name	Business Type
Munich Haus	Food/Drink
Dazzle Studio Dance	Arts/Culture
Horseshoes and Hand Grenades Tattoo	Services
Polish National Credit Union	Bank
Video Game Castle	Retail
Potgold Jewelers	Retail
The Dance Center	Arts/Culture
Cabot Liquor Store	Liquor Store
Collegian Court	Food/Drink
Paradise Pizza	Food/Drink
Family Dollar	Variety Store
Portuguese American Club	Social Club
Bernadino's Bakery	Food/Drink
American Legion	Social Club
Red Fez Bar & Grill	Food/Drink
Romano's Pizza Restaurant	Food/Drink
Giguere's Used Appliance	Retail
Kashmir Mini Mart	Variety Store
Mario's European Auto	Auto Services
Center Cleaners Inc	Services
Subway Restaurants	Food/Drink
Let's Face it Cabinets	Services
Bob's Bakery	Food/Drink
Maximum Capacity Sports Bar	Bar
Chuck's Auto Body and Towing	Auto Services
Dunkin' Donuts	Food/Drink
Tony & Sons Auto Services & Sales	Auto Services

CONTINUED

Business/Organization Name	Business Type
Kos Hardware & Grain Co	Retail
Goodworks Coffee House	Food/Drink
Rollin Roc Tavern	Bar
Iglesia Pentecostal de Avivamiento La Última Cosecha Inc	Church
Europa Deli	Food Market
Victory Chapel	Church
Westfield Bank	Bank
Princesa Deli Market	Food Market
Pastor Valentin Y Matilde	Church
New England Cycle Supply	Retail
Turnstall Corporation	Retail
Elizabeth Grocery	Food Market
Beaudry Electric	Services
Casa Del Caribe	Food/Drink
Center Auto	Auto Services
Shell	Auto Services
Central Oil	Auto Services
Phillips Insurance Agency	Services
Center for Martial Arts and Fitness	Arts/Culture
Oops	Arts/Culture
Iglesia De Dios	Church
Evelyn's Bakery	Food/Drink
VP Management	Services
Precision Wash and Dry	Services
Iglesia Bethsaida Inc	Church
Amazon Food Services	Food Market
Supreme Nutrition	Retail
Family Barber Shop	Services
Family Barbers and Beauty Supply	Services
Dames Beautique	Services
Lidia's Beauty Salon	Services

CONTINUED

Business/Organization Name	Business Type
Cabot Pub	Bar
Metro PCS	Services
Boost Mobile	Services
Ziemba Tax Service	Services
Rent-A-Center	Services
Furniture Outlet	Retail
Super Size Laundromat	Services
Andrey's Family Chiropractic	Services
First Class Cuts	Services
River Valley Counseling Center	Services
Romano's Pizza Restaurant	Food/Drink

Table A.2: Items needed for Spooktacular

Face paint and brushes	Candy bowls	Binder clips
Facial sponges	Orange and black streamers	Cardboard
2-3 jugs of water	Orange and black balloons	Trash bags
3-4 rolls of paper towels	20 special prizes (e.g. large candy bars, small toys)	Plinko board
\$150 in candy	2 disposable tablecloths	Pens
Plastic box	Face-sized mirror	Costumes

Table A.3: List of stakeholders identified by CCP and Client to contact for one-on-one inter-

Chamber of Commerce	Center for Martial Arts and Fitness	River Mills Center
Boys and Girls Club	Munich Haus	Gandara Center: Culturally Sensitive Care
Portuguese American Club	Collegian Court	Valley Opportunity Council
American Legion	Goodworks Coffee House	Lorraine's Soup Kitchen
Bernardino's Bakery	Tony & Sons Auto Services & Sales	River Valley Counseling
Bob's Bakery	Elms College	Polgold Jewelers
Europa Deli	city of Chicopee Mayor	Pioneer Valley Planning Commission
Polish National Credit Union	Dino's European Hair Styling	city of Chicopee Community Development Office

Table A.4: List of stakeholders that participated in one-on-one interviews

Business/Organization Name	Business/Organization Name
American Legion (2)	Goodworks Coffee House
Archipelago Developers	Pioneer Valley Planning Commission
Chamber of Commerce	Valley Opportunity Council
Collegian Court	Westfield Bank

Table A.5: List of organizations that received online VPS survey link

4 Perkins LLC dba SilverBrick Mills	Chicopee Industrial Contractors, Inc.	Law Offices of Christine J. Lessing Provost
All Energy Solar	Chicopee Provision Co., Inc	city of Chicopee Treasurer
American Pool League of Conn.	Chuck's Auto Body & Towing	Millie's Pierogi
Aramark@Elms College	Cierpial Memorial Funeral Homes	Mosher Company, Inc.
Basilica of St. Stanislaus	City Councilor Robert Joseph Zygarowski	Pioneer Valley Baptist Chapel
Bernadino's Bakery, Inc.	Collins Electric	Munich Haus, Inc.
Beta Group, Inc.	Edward Bellamy Memorial Association, Inc.	Polish Center of Discovery & Learning
Bob's Bakery	Elms College - MBA Department	Polish National Credit Union
Boy's and Girl's Club of Chicopee, Inc	First American Insurance Agency, Inc.	Rattell, Keith W., City Clerk
Brunelle Funeral Home	Friends of the Chicopee Senior Citizens, Inc.	Red Fez Lounge
CADrocke Associates	Granfield, Bugbee & Masse Insurance	The Collegian Court
Cebula Electronics Corp.	Grzelak, Grzelak, & Associates, P.C.	Truehart Wellness Massage & Hypnosis
Central Oil	Institute of Abilities	Tylunas Funeral Home
Chicopee Center Legion Post 452	ION Lighting Distribution Inc.	Valley Opportunity Council, Inc.
Chicopee Cultural Council	Jasin Advertising, Inc.	Westfield Bank
Chicopee Electric Light	Jess Miller Comedy	Lavato Supply Company, Inc.
Chicopee Eyecare	Chicopee Gardens	

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